



Greek and Barbarian Peoples on the Shores of the Black Sea

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GREEK AND BARBARIAN PEOPLES ON THE SHORES OF THE BLACK SEA

The present survey is intended to be a continuation of the reports by Boardman (*AR* 1962-63, 34-51) and Gorbunova (*AR* 1971-72, 48-59). The former covered work done since 1945 and up to 1962 in all the modern states which have a Black Sea coastline, while the latter surveyed work done in the Soviet Union only between 1965 and 1970. Thus for Bulgaria, Rumania and Turkey this present report will include at least some finds and studies of the 1960s. The section on the Soviet Union will begin with 1971, but include some items found or discussed in 1962-64 which fell outside the limits of Gorbunova's report. The closing date is 1981 for finds, but publications of 1982 and 1983 have been included where appropriate.

A bibliography exists for Russian work between 1958 and 1971 (*BICS* xi [1975] 10-31) compiled by T. Sulimirski. Recently new chapters have appeared in English on the period of colonization and subsequent consolidation within the area of the Black Sea, one in J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*³ (1980) 238-64, 280-2, and one by A. J. Graham in *CAH* iii 3 (1982) 122-30.

There are four modern political states ranged around the Black Sea, divided by languages which are very different from one another, and when the Georgian and Abkhazian languages are taken into account the situation is even more complicated. Traditionally, archaeological studies have been carried out independently, if not in isolated fashion, in Bulgaria, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Turkey. At the same time scholars engaged in archaeological activities around the shores of the Black Sea from the Neolithic period onwards have realized the Pontic dimension of what they were doing, but to a large extent it was the contribution of D. B. Shelov in Moscow

(*Antichnoye Obschestvo* [1967] 219) and Joseph Brashinsky in Leningrad (*VDI* 1968, 3, 151 and 1970, 2, 129-37) that they stressed the Black Sea as a geographical and economic unit, albeit one having differing but complementary coastlines and hinterland (**Fig. 1**). Since 1969-70 Brashinsky continued to develop his interest in the evidence for cross-Pontic trade (*VDI* 1973, 3, 124-33 on piracy; *Tskhaltubo* iii, Pontos in Hellenistic times); sadly he died in 1982. Shelov has added to his studies on the Asiatic side of the Kimmerian Bosphoros by working on the late Hellenistic 'Pontic Empire' of Mithridates Eupator (*VDI* 1980, 3, 28-43; *Tskhaltubo* iii 102-5).

In the latter years of the period under review, two series of symposia have begun to be held, one at Tskhaltubo in Georgia, and one in Sozopol (Apollonia) in Bulgaria. *Tskhaltubo* I, held in May 1977, was on the theme *Problems of Greek Colonization of the North and East Black Sea Regions*, and has been published in Tbilisi (Metsniereba, 1979). Section I of these symposium proceedings is on general matters of colonization practice, and on certain specific problems related to the Western Mediterranean. *Tskhaltubo* II took place in May 1979 and the proceedings were published in Tbilisi, 1981, under the title, *The Demographic Situation in the Black Sea Area in the period of the Main Greek Colonization Movement*. The title clearly points to the contents, embracing all shores of the Black Sea, and including, in section I again, papers on Emporion and Massalia. This time the emphasis was on reciprocal relations with the native people, not merely on Greek influence upon barbarians. A third symposium has been held at Tskhaltubo in May 1982, but as yet the papers are unpublished. However, the summaries of the reports (published in Tbilisi, 1982) give a good idea of the

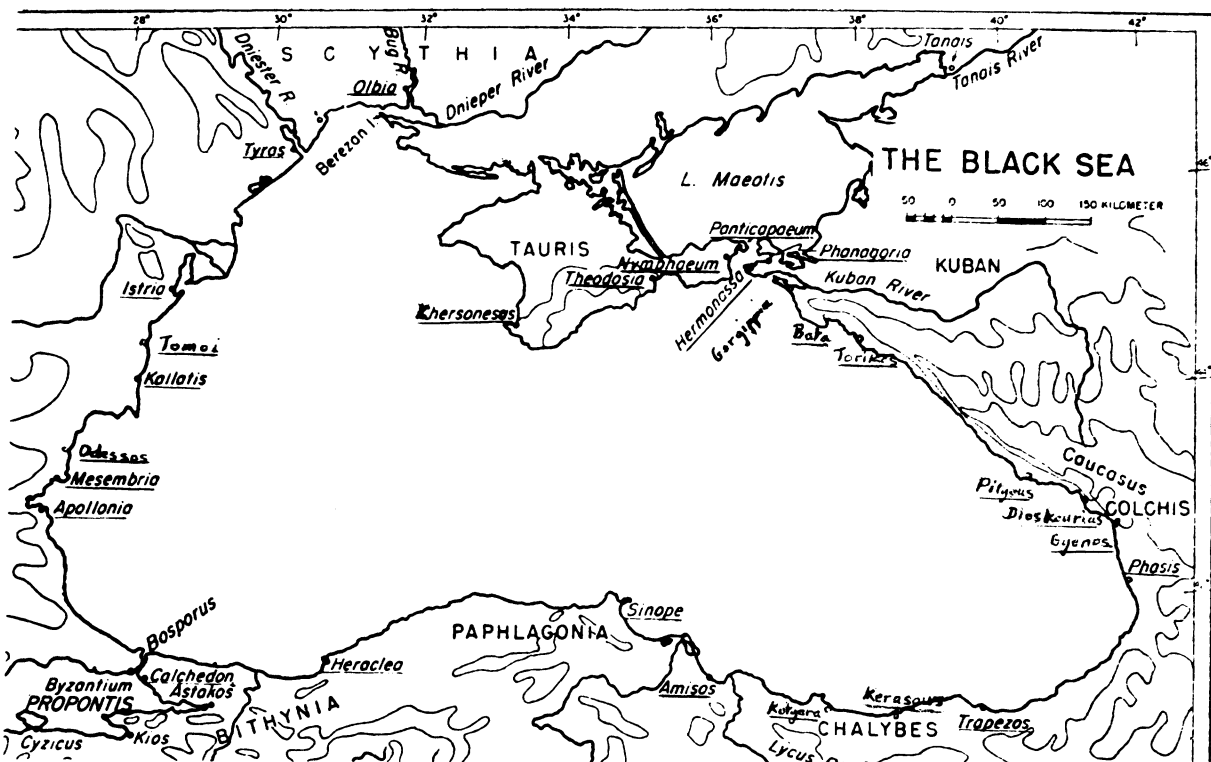


Fig. 1

general theme and the thrust of the individual papers. The title was *Hellenism and the Black Sea Area*, and most papers were concerned with aspects of the Spartokids on the Bosporos, with Hellenistic Olbia and Khersonesos, the coast of Kolkhis in the Hellenistic period, and the archaeological and historical aspects of Mithridates' 'All-Pontos' policy. A fourth symposium in the Tskhaltubo series is promised for 1985, devoted to the archaic and classical periods.

The second series of symposia is less wide in its scope, but of great interest nevertheless. Since 1979 the Bulgarian Institute of Archaeology and the Burgas District Committee have combined to host two symposia at Sozopol under the title *Thracia Pontica*, both devoted to the history and archaeology of the western shore of the Black Sea. *Thracia Pontica* i (1979) appeared in 1982, and *Thracia Pontica* ii (1982) will appear in the next year or two. In scope they range from coastal links of the Black Sea settlements with the Aegean in the EBA, to the archaeology and numismatics of the Greek cities.

Since this series of conferences a general book on Greek colonization has appeared under the authorship of V. P. Yailenko, *Greek Colonization in the VII-III Centuries B.C.* (1982). Whilst the major part of the book is concerned with relations between colony and mother city in areas outside the Black Sea, there is a long chapter on the historiography of the subject, and a discussion about the colonization process in Kolkhis, as well as an extensive publication of graffiti from Berezan. All these last have reference to past and current debates about the development of the Greek colonial process within the Black Sea area.

Before turning to the region-by-region description of finds and researches, I should first mention recent studies in two fields, which throw considerable light on the conditions obtaining at the time of the first colonization and later. It now appears that in the first millennium B.C. the Black Sea was considerably lower in level (by 1 to 10 m.). This was the so-called Phanagorian regression (K. K. Shilik, in *Palaeogeographia: Otlozheniye Pleistocena Yuzhnykh Morei SSSR*, 1977) and the underwater parts of a number of cities are to be explained thus (P. V. Feodorov, *Pleistocene Ponto-Caspia*, 1978). Recent work by Zolotarev has traced the pattern of major currents within the Black Sea. He estimates the aid obtained by sailing ships from the prevailing currents, which formed two systems flowing anti-clockwise around the two halves of the Black Sea a few km. out to sea. Minor counter-currents also exist, immediately off-shore from the Bulgarian and Rumanian coasts, to aid the knowledgeable pilot. (M. I. Zolotarev, *Tskhaltubo* i 94-100). Most recent on the changes in sea level is N. Panin (*Dacia* xxvii [1983] 175-184).

Going around the Black Sea in a direction opposite to the major currents just mentioned, but following the precedent of Boardman in the report for 1962-63, we start with the west coast of the Black Sea (Fig. 2).

BULGARIA

The stretch of coast in modern Turkey-in-Europe was nearly harbourless, and between the Kyaneai Rocks, at the entrance of the Bosporos into the Pontos, and the site at Ahtopol, there was no significant township. Present-day Midie and Igneada were probably villages of Thracian 'wreckers', the Melinophagoi of the notorious Salmydessian Shore (Hdt. iv 93; Xen. *Anab.* vii 4.12). At **Ahtopol** (*Aulaiouteikhos*, later **Agathopolis**) the substantial remaining walls are of the early Byzantine period. The first site with significant Greek remains is **Sozopol** (**Apollonia in Thrace**). Here the Centre for Maritime

GREEK CITIES and the PEOPLES of the HINTERLAND of the WEST COAST of the BLACK SEA.



Fig. 2

History and Archaeology has been based since 1973. Underwater exploration preceding this started at Maslen Nos in 1960, and was directed in two surveys, along the Apollonia-Strandzha coast since 1972, and on the Mesembria-Haimos coast since 1974 (*Thracia Pontica* i 311-16). A number of LBA stone anchors and some copper ingots have been found in the Gulf of Burgas and off the Black Sea coasts to N and S. Underwater surveys have been made in the two port areas of ancient Apollonia. Among other finds from the sea-bed near Sozopol are a complete early amphora with S-shaped decoration in brown paint (*I.N.M. Varna* xi [1975] 1). The excavations carried out in the necropolis at Apollonia in 1947-49 have been published in a handsome volume, *Apollonia* (Sofia, 1963). Over 760 graves were excavated dating from the late 6th to the mid 3rd cents B.C. Item 780 is a fragment of a bird or rosette bowl, and 781 has the remains of two registers of Late Wild Goat Style animals (early 6th cent. B.C.). Dating from the earliest period of the *apoikia*, though a chance find and not from a known part of the necropolis, is a fine Wild Goat style oinochoe c. 620-600 B.C. (Sozopol Mus. 249; Dmitrov, *Izkusstvo*, 1975, 3-4, 30-1) (Fig. 3). Typically, these oinochoai bear protomes of birds or wild goats as their main decoration. The predominant imported fine ware, however, is late Attic rf and, of bulk-carrying amphorae, Thasian and Herakleian types. An unpublished rich burial excavated by G. Boyadzhiev contained several rf kraters.

The silver coinage of Apollonia, with its anchor and gorgoneion types, has recently been discussed (*Thracia Pontica* ii, forthcoming), and the later bronze issues are treated by Stephanova (*ibid.*). Further, the weight system of the silver coinage was analysed some years ago by Zaginailo (*Numizmatika i Epigraphika* xi [1974] 49-50). A typology has been worked out for the large hoard of arrow-money from the



Fig. 3

peninsula site at **Attia**, some km. to the W (*Thracia Pontica* i 40–56). Controversy smoulders as to whether they were used by the Thracian, Getic or Scythian peoples behind the NW Pontic coast (B. Grakov, *VDI* 1971, 3, 125; Dmitrov, *Arkheologia* xviii [1974] 2, 43–7). Perhaps they have something to do with the Scythian king Ariantas' census of his subjects, held by dropping arrow-heads (unfinished?) into a huge cauldron kept at the sacred site of Exampaia (Hdt. iv 81). For 'arrow-money' and Olbian 'dolphins' see V. Ruban, *NAP* (1982) 15–20, and, for a hoard from Kamenka, Zaginailo, *NAP* (1982) 20–8.

A settlement near Burgas at **Sladkite Kladentsi** has yielded a fair amount of rf pottery (*Izv. N.M. Burgas* i [1950] 241–50). In earlier writings this has been interpreted as an *emporion* of the Apolloniatai. Its character may become clearer with a full publication of further finds of the 1960s (excavations of M. Lazarov). It clearly was of some importance as an outpost of Apollonia in the second half of the 5th cent. B.C., controlling the route by the head of the Bay of Burgas.

Relations between **Apollonia** and Istros, her Milesian sister city situated south of the Danube delta, have been discussed on the basis of an inscription of the latter city (*Dacia* 1959, 235–58). Over the period 1977–78 some 250 burials were excavated in the Marine Park area of Sozopol, dating c. 550–275 B.C. Some display Thracian characteristics with elements found also at the hill-top Thracian site at Malkoto Kale, 14 km. to the SW (*Thracia Pontica* i 197–200). Native settlements were quite thickly spread, perhaps the Skyrmiadai and Nipsaioi tribes in the 5th cent., who later merged into the Astai. They are noted on Attia peninsula, St. Kiriak island, Maslen Nos, Malkoto Kale and Lobodovo Kale. In early 1982 an interesting find was made, some 5 km. from Sozopol, where a tumulus was broken open by a bulldozer, and a rich 4th cent. burial was found. A striking feature was a double circle of amphorae surrounding the mound, of which one part-circle was upside down (to be published by Zaneva in *Thracia Pontica* ii). From burials in the same area at Kolokita Nos comes also a bg fish plate, with a graffito of ownership or dedication. Graves circled by am-

phorae have been found before at Apollonia (*Apolonia*, 41), and are not uncommon at Istros and Olbia.

The minor township on the N shore of the Bay of Burgas at **Pomorye** (**Ankhialos**, a *polikhion* of Apollonia) has been subjected to underwater survey to find traces of the extensive ancient salt-workings (*Thracia Pontica* i 201–6). Nearby, and on land, a rich tumulus, with at least two cremations within was found in 1975 (*Arkheologia* xxi [1979] 3, 23–32). Jewellery includes a necklace with acorn pendants, and earrings in the form of sphinxes, one bearing an incised Thracian name (*Izkustvo*, 1976, 4, 28–32). Vases and bronzes dated them to the 1st cents B.C.–A.D. Most recently, at the head of the bay near Burgas, excavations (by Damianov 1980–82) have turned up early Greek imported pottery in another native cemetery.

Mesembria (**Nesebar**) is a classic peninsula site, now joined to the mainland by a very narrow isthmus, the whole peninsula being the site of the ancient town (Fig. 4). Byzantine churches



Fig. 4

are the main present attraction, and the small tourist town leaves little room for excavation, except at the ends of the causeway-isthmus. Settlement here by the Megarian Greeks was relatively late – at the turn of the 6th–5th cents B.C., probably because a strong Thracian township preceded them on the site. The wreck of a ship found at Ravdi near Nesebar contained a cargo of Chiot amphorae (*Vekove* 1975, 3, 48). The small silver coin issues of the 5th and 4th cents B.C. have been studied, so far as their weight standard is concerned, by Zaginailo and placed in a scheme alongside the other West Pontic cities (*Num. i Epig.* xi [1974] 50–1). Jewellery of Hellenistic date from the necropolis has been published by Jiri Frel, (*Acta Antiqua Philippopolitana* 1963, 61–9). Inscriptions mentioning a temple of Dionysos of 3rd to 2nd cents B.C. (found in 1964), and another, somewhat later, mentioning a temple of Serapis (found in 1969) have been published by Velkov (*Klio* lii [1970] 465–471). The west Pontic coinage of Mithridates Eupator was discussed in 1968 by M. Price, and he tentatively takes some to have been minted at Mesembria (*NC* viii [1968] 7–9). Two monographs have appeared in recent years on material found at Mesembria: *Nessebre* i (Sofia, 1969) contains an account of inscriptions found from 1954–63, and *Nessebre* ii (1980) contains amphora stamps, pottery and architectural terracottas.

Perhaps the most startling fact about Mesembria, drawn from the work of recent years, is that it was a fortified Thracian site from the LBA, and already possessed two harbours. The melon-shaped enceinte is found as far as 300 m. out into the sea, and to a depth of 4–7 m. Pottery of a type associated with

Troy VIIb2 has also been found at Mesembria (*Thracia Pontica* i 69–81). The excavator, Ognenova, links these phenomena with the Thracian period of sea-power which is mentioned by Diodoros in his ‘thalassocracy list’. About thirty stone anchors of the period, a gold ingot discovered in the sea off Cape Kali Akra in 1966, and a copper ingot of Mediterranean form found in the 1970s near the Burgas copper mining area, all serve to draw interest back into the 12th–8th cents B.C. on this part of the Bulgarian coast. Finally, for the classical period, an estimate of the population of Mesembria has been made at 3,000–4,000 inhabitants (of whom about 700–800 might be hoplites), disposing of a city area of about 300 hectares, and with a capability of launching up to 50 ships (*Thracia Pontica* i 97–107). Dmitrov and Orichev discuss the harbours of the Thracian coast (*Arch.* 1982.1, 1–12).

Odessos, the modern holiday town of **Varna**, had a name that has recently been interpreted as ‘waters’ (Beschevlyev, *IVAD* 1979, 1980). Occupation levels up to 7 m. deep hinder the study of wide areas of the earliest town. In the ‘Roman Baths’ area, however, a thin archaic layer and three ritual pits of the mid to late 6th cent. have been found. Pottery, including Corinthian and East Greek, rosette bowls, Fikellura ware, and Attic bf skyphoi and lekythoi, has been published by Toncheva (*IBAI* xxx [1967] 157–60). Burials of a later period, c. 375–350 B.C., contained Attic rf bell-kraters and aryballoid lekythoi, disproving an earlier idea that Odessos was in decay in the 4th cent. B.C. (*IBAI* xxvii [1964] 111–29). There is also a fragmentary dedication inscription of the 5th cent. B.C. in honour of Apollo Delphinios – a chance find from Varna, and unpublished.

In the ‘Roman Bath’ area a possible shrine and temenos of a local variant of the Thracian rider god was found (*Actes du premier congrès des études Balkaniques*, 1970, 353–6). It existed from the end of the 4th cent. down to the mid 1st cent. B.C., perhaps being destroyed by the Dacians of King Burebistas. From here came a votive to Hērōs Karabasmos (**Fig. 5**), and a second to Phōsphoros of the late 3rd or early 2nd cent. B.C. (*VI Conférence int. des études classiques des pays socialistes* [Sofia, 1963] 71–9). The iconography of the Thracian rider god has been studied on the basis of this votive, and also of the 14 similar reliefs found at a shrine near Galata, a site in the region of Odessos but clearly Thracian (*I.N.M. Varna* 1968, 17–26). It is probably no accident that it is also from the 3rd cent. that inscriptions start to attest Thracian names among the citizens of Odessos; in the region of fifty are known (*Bull. Soc. Arch. Varna* x [1956] 59). Some Alexandrian faience pottery (5 fragments) is reported from Odessos, dating to the early 3rd cent. (*IBAI* 1972, 103–11). Over the last ten years about six Hellenistic burials have come to light at intervals in or near Varna. Some are published (*I.N.M. Varna* xi [1975] 136–40; xiv [1978] A. Minchev) but the latest was found in Feb. 1983. Some splendid gold jewellery has been found, the finest examples being a necklace with bull-head pendants and two beautifully fashioned earrings in the shape of Nikai (*Muzei i Pametni si na Kulturata* 1971, 3, 4–9). Offshore, the cargo of a ship consisting of 300 amphorae was found at Lazurny Bereg off Varna in 1964, allowing the study of whole amphorae, stamps and graffiti (*SA* 1968, 1, 233; *I.N.M. Varna* 1963, 3–52; 1974, 19–58; 1975, 46–103). For the Mithridatic period the article by Price refers to the Odessitan coinage of late Lysimachean types (*NC* 1968, 6–7).

N of Varna the minor town of **Krounoi/Dionysopolis** (modern **Balchik**) has produced little that is pre-Roman. From **Bizone (Kavarna)** there are very recent reports of many frag-



Fig. 5

mentary amphorae, including stamps, of Hellenistic date found on the plateau above the town (apparently the contents of a pit or pits). But these have yet to be sorted. There seem to be over 350 Herakleiot stamps, but also some of Rhodes and Sinope (excav. A. Salkin). From **Cape Kaliakra** comes an inscription of Hellenistic date, to be published in *Thracia Pontica* ii by Lazarov and Popov. Beneath a pilaster capital is a dedication to the Dioskouroi Sōtēres by one Antigonos son of Herakleitos Tubetaios. It was made on behalf of King Sariakes, a dynast of Scythia Minor of the 2nd or 1st cent. B.C. This Kaliakra is a well-researched late Roman and Byzantine town excavated over a number of years (A. Balkanska, *Klio* lxii [1980] 27–45; *Arkheologia* xvi [1974] 71–2).

With Bizone the known coastal townships within Bulgaria come to an end. But there should be mentioned here a series of articles dealing with the economic ties between the west Pontic cities (Brashinsky, *Arkheologia* xii [1970] 1–11), with the import of archaic pottery into the area in the archaic period (Lazarov, *Tskhaltubo* ii, 61–8), or analysing the direction of

trade in Hellenistic amphorae (*I.N.M. Varna* 1977, 1, 1–47). The last two collect material relating also to Istros, Tomis and Kallatis, to which we shall shortly turn. But first some general works on the Thracian people should be mentioned. Of the Russians, T. D. Zlatkovskaya has written on the emergence of the Thracian state in a monograph published in 1971 (*Vozniknovenie Gosudarstva u Trakiitsev VII–V vekakh do n.e.*). C. Danov's *Drevnya Trakia* (Sofia, 1969) and A. Fol's *Trakia i Balkanite prez ranneelinisticheskata epokha*, Sofia, 1975, are two of the most fundamental Bulgarian works. Two books by R. F. Hoddinott have made Thracian material more readily available to English readers – *Bulgaria in Antiquity* (1975) esp. 24–108; and *The Thracians* (1981). To these should be added *Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria* (London, 1976), being the printed catalogue (text by Venedikov) accompanying the Thracian exhibition held in the British Museum. For Thracian art there is also the splendid volume by I. Venedikov and T. Gerasimov, *Trakiiskoto Izkustvo* (1973), with its many plates devoted to sculpture from Apollonia, jewellery from Mesembria, as well as the gold plate and horse trappings from hoards and Thracian tombs in the interior. Two Bulgarian works have appeared in the *British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series* recently, and may be familiar to English scholars – Y. Youroukova, *Coins of the Ancient Thracians*, BAR iv (1976); D. Dimitrov and M. Chichikova, *The Thracian City of Seuthopolis*, BAR xxxviii (1978). This last is seen as one of the greatest discoveries of Bulgarian archaeology in the last thirty years, being the palace of Seuthes III, who maintained an often successful independence from Lysimachus c. 325–280 B.C. *Thrace and the Thracians* by A. Fol and I. Marazov (Cassel, 1977) gives a well illustrated survey of Thracian religion, art, and their 'ideology of kingship'. For the fourth-century city of Kabyle see V. Velkov in *Ancient Bulgaria* (Nottingham, 1983; ed. A. Poultier) 233–8.

RUMANIA

Kallatis is the closest of the cities to the Bulgarian border (Mangalia). Much of the ancient town has fallen into the sea, which has risen relative to the land by over 2 m. Excavation has been largely confined to the Hellenistic necropolis to N and NW of Mangalia (*Dacia* xvi [1972] 271–80; *Pontica* vii [1974] 167–89). The earliest material is pottery of the early 4th cent. B.C. This also applies to that from the town, especially terracottas in great abundance. It is still a common assumption that Kallatis was founded c. 540–500 B.C. (in the time of Amyntas I of Macedon). But the lack of archaeological evidence for this may suggest that its foundation from Herakleia was actually in the early 4th cent. B.C., during a period of civil strife in the mother city, and the actual date was during the reign of Amyntas III, father of Philip (389–359 B.C.). It would then be a somewhat younger sister city of Khersonesos (founded c. 422 B.C.).

The town flourished quickly, as inscriptions of the 4th to 1st cents B.C. show. Kallatian silver coinage has recently been studied, and is said to be on the Aeginetan standard in the 4th cent. (*Num. i Epig.* xi [1974] 50–1). Several hundred late classical and Hellenistic terracotta figurines are published by V. Canarache (*Tanagra Figurines made in the Workshops of Kallatis*, 1969). They come from a veritable *monte testaccio* found near the Post Office; other lesser deposits, where moulds and a pottery workshop were found, testify to local manufacture, especially in the 3rd cent. Imported Hellenistic amphora stamps found at Kallatis have also been published in recent years – Thasian, Sinopian, Herakleian, Khersonesite and Koan all figure

(*Dacia* xiii [1969] 127–283; *Istros* i [1980] 137–55). Inscriptions, recently found, include a 4th cent. graffito on a bg vase (*Epigraphica* [Bucarest, 1977] 25–32, with corrections, *Dacia* xxiii [1979] 313), and decrees for citizens of Paros and Tyras have been published, the former of the 3rd cent. B.C. and the latter dating to the 4th (D. Pippidi, *Scythica Minora* [1975] 123–8). For the Roman period mention of T. Plautius Silvanus, (*op. cit.* 122 ff.), and of *cives Romani consistentes* at Kallatis (*SCIV* 1962, 275) is of interest. A general account is given by C. Preda, *Callatis* (1968). The date of the Rome–Kallatis treaty has been placed at the time of Lucullus' campaigns in 72/1 B.C. (Pippidi, *Polis and Imperium* [1974, ed. Evans] 183–200). H. B. Mattingly now argues for c. 114–107 B.C. (*Ancient Bulgaria* [Nottingham, 1983] 243–6).

Buildings recently discovered include a late Hellenistic house from the southern part of the town, which contained a two-colour mosaic with the background in green and white pebbles, and borders of greenish tesserae. Lead casting moulds had been left *in situ* by those who laid the floor (C. Scorpan, *Callatis* [1976] 20). The Romano-Byzantine cemetery is published by C. Preda (*Callatis – Necropola Romana-Byzantina* [1980]). A female burial, very interesting for the state of preservation of its organic contents, was found in 1970 at Mangalia Nord. This was in a marble sarcophagus of the 2nd cent. A.D. Clothes, pillows, leather objects, wood and even parts of body tissue such as thigh muscles and lungs were remarkably preserved. There was also a gold wreath, bronze mirror, bone comb, sponge, musical instrument and pieces of myrrh (Scorpan, *Callatis* [1976] 23–4).

The site of **Tomis, Tomeus (Constanța)** is now overlaid by the modern town, the present name being a derivative of Constantia, the late Roman name. A revised guide to the Archaeological Museum was published in 1969 by Canarache (*Il Museo Archeologico di Constanza*), describing mainly Roman and Byzantine material, and architectural elements and pottery of the 4th and 5th cents A.D. were collected in the grounds of the Orthodox cathedral in 1971. From the earliest period there is little, but Chiot wine amphorae of the early 5th cent. B.C. take the archaeological record back, perhaps, to the first or second generation of settlers, and a sherd of Corinthian pottery is reported (*Pontica* viii 34). Between 1958 and 1966 the Hellenistic necropolis was excavated, and published the following year (M. Bucovalea, *Necropole elenistice la Tomis*, 1967). The earliest burials were of the 4th cent. (Nos 1–4); in No. 3 a silver coin of Apollonia was found. Most were of the 3rd or 2nd cents, with 'Megarian bowls', lagynoi, bronze ladles, balsamaria, lamps and strigils being the most characteristic grave goods. Scorpan has published a study of relief sculptures of the Thracian Rider God or Hero, *Cavalerul Trac* (Constanța, 1967). Most of his examples are Roman, but the religious syncretism involved was already operating in the Hellenistic period. The glass vases from the Roman necropolis are published with illustrations of some 300 items (Bucovalea, *Vase Antice di Sticla la Tomis*, 1968). A summary of over a century of work on Tomitan inscriptions was given by Stoian in 1967 (*Acta, Fifth Epigraphical Congress* [Cambridge 1971] 336–9). A volume of inscriptions was published under the title *Tomitana – Contributions à l'histoire de la cité de Tomis* in 1962. Further items have appeared in *Epigraphica* (Constanța, 1977), mainly of the Roman period, especially the 2nd and 3rd cents A.D. The main monument to be seen at present in Constanța is the great Roman building with mosaic floors found in 1959–60, and the bath building found in 1964, belonging to the 4th cent. A.D. (*Marele edificiu roman cu mozaic de la Tomis* [1977]).

The most outstanding find from Tomis is again of the late

Roman period, but contains items which are classicising or Hellenistic in tradition. This is a cache of 24 pieces of pagan sculpture, of varying styles and dates down to the 4th cent. A.D., which was found in 1962. A range of deities is offered – Glykon, the sheep-headed snake-god of Alexander of Abonouteikhos (the only known representation), Tykhe-Fortuna, Nemesis, the Dioskouroi, Hekate, Isis and Kybele (*Studii Clasice* vi [1964] 155–78; *Eirene* iv [1965] 67–79).

The statue of Tykhe-Fortuna is life-size and is accompanied by a small bearded figure – Pontus, who wears a mural crown with five facets and holds a warship prow with his left hand (**Fig. 6**). This statue group may be the one represented on Tomitan coins of the early 3rd cent. A.D. It is interesting to see for the first time in sculpture an ancient representation of Pontus, especially in view of the recent moves to see the Pontic area as an economic and cultural region. The personification of Pontus, perhaps, shows a similar awareness.



Fig. 6

Istros, while taking its name from the R. Danube, is sited some 80 km. S of the S arm of the delta, and 65 km. N of Constanța. It is a site (Karanasuf) free of modern buildings, but with heavy overlay of the late Roman and early Byzantine town. Since 1914 it has been subjected to repeated, almost annual, excavations, at first of the impressive later buildings. But in 1915, in the 1950s, and again in 1970–79, interesting finds have been made in layers of the archaic, classical and Hellenistic periods. In recent years, moreover, the pace of publication of materials found there has accelerated. *Histria* ii appeared in 1964, edited by E. Condurachi. More recently thematic monographs have been published; *Histria* iii (1973),

by C. Preda and H. Nubar, is a study of the coinage of Istros, and of coins of other cities found there between 1914 and 1970. *Histria* iv (1978) by Alexandrescu, deals with the archaic and classical pottery from the second half of the 7th to the 4th cent. B.C. Istros has the greatest amount of Wild Goat style pottery of any ancient settlement site in the Black Sea area except Berezan, from which much of the pottery is still unpublished. The local pottery workshops found in excavations up to 1977 are the subject of *Histria* v – *Les ateliers céramiques* (1979, edd. M. Coia and P. Dupont). Future volumes in the series that are promised are on the Hellenistic pottery and Roman and Byzantine pottery, and on the Baths Area etc.

Work has gone apace on the inscriptions from Istros, in which matter Pippidi, the doyen of Rumanian classical archaeological studies, has been very active. Several articles appeared in the collection *Scythica Minora* (1975) on the cults worshipped at Istros, on relations with the Getai, on military organization and on worship of the gods of Samothrace. One refers to Istros' position in the west Pontic *koinon*, and deals with the so-called 'second foundation' of the city, which is assigned to the period after the sack by the Getai in the mid 1st cent. B.C. A collection of papers by J. Stoian (*Études histriennes – Collection Latomus* ciii [1972]) brings forward mainly epigraphical studies (see review by Pippidi, *Dacia* xvii [1975] 451–2), but also oddly includes the excavation of a late Roman house found at Istros. Of exceptional interest is an article by Pippidi on the earliest inscriptions found at Istros (*Epigraphica* 1977, 9–24). Some late archaic dedications are considered, found in the temenos area and E of the Roman bath buildings. The family-tree of the 5th cent. worthy Theoxenos, son of Hippolokhos and his dedication to Apollo Ietros is also re-considered.

The autonomous silver coinage of Istros has been studied by C. Preda. He wishes to date the earliest issue from the early 5th cent. B.C., and gives a distribution map for the 5th and 4th cents within the Dobrudzha, Moldavia, and along the coastal strip between Istros and the Dniepr (*Dacia* xix [1975] 77–85). The coin-type with the two heads full-face, one reversed, has been discussed separately by H. Hommel (*Festschrift Altheim* i [1969] 261–71), by J. Hind (NC 1970, 7–17) and by V. Alexeyev (NAP [1982] 106–114). The weight system has been treated by Zaginailo (*Num. i Epigr.* xi [1974] 51–4).

The course of the campaigns of excavation was assessed in general terms up to 1969 by Pippidi. He also sketched in the main periods of construction, destruction and reconstruction – c. 657/6 B.C. or slightly later – late 6th cent. B.C. – c. 55 B.C. – c. A.D. 240–50 (*Klio* lii [1970] 355–63). A fuller treatment appeared a year later in D. M. Pippidi, *I Greci nel Basso Danubio* (Milan, 1971).

The most outstanding finds made recently at Istros were in the temenos area in the NE point of the city overlooking Lake Sinoe (**Fig. 7**). Here was excavated from 1965–66 until 1977 a small temple of Aphrodite, to set beside those of Zeus Polieus and Theos Megas. This new Aphrodite temple was a tetrastyle prostyle building, which was destroyed eventually, perhaps in the Getic sack c. 55–48 B.C. (G. Bordenache, *Studii Clasice* ix [1967] 143–7; D. Theodorescu, *Dacia* xii [1968] 261–303; RA 1970, 29–48). In 1977 the final corner (SE) was uncovered. The earliest destruction of the temple proved to date to the late 6th or early 5th cent. B.C. Parts of its roof, found collapsed as a result of fire (excav. 1976), sealed a graffito inscription with a dedication to Aphrodite. Earlier, in 1972, to the E of the temple was found an 'altar' of the 6th cent. B.C., with the base of an archaic votive column on its platform, and the bases of five Hellenistic votive stelai (*Dacia* xvi [1972]; xx [1976]). By 1979 it was realised that the 'altar' was the *crepidoma* of a small

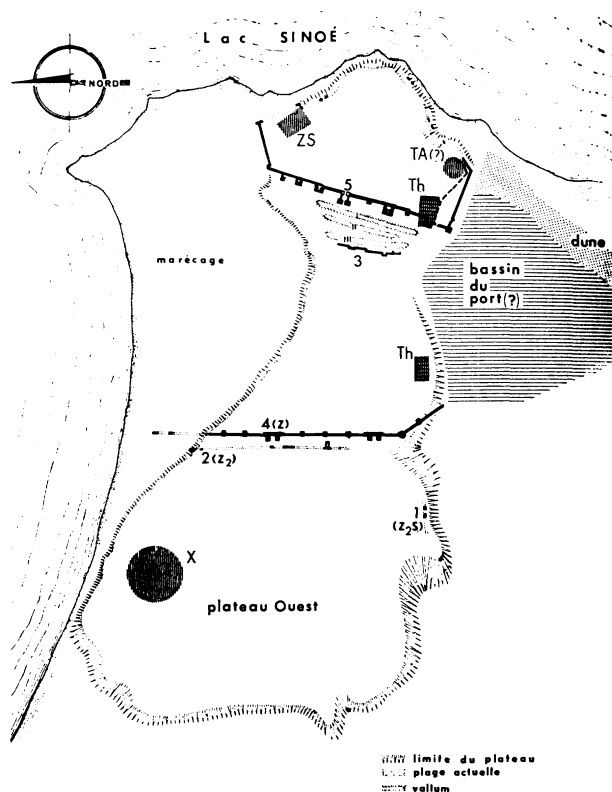


Fig. 7

sanctuary or gateway-propylon (*Dacia* xxiii [1979] 357–8; xxiv [1980] 360).

Meanwhile, excavations between 1970 and 1977 laid open a potter's quarter (Z²) of the 4th cent. B.C. (*Histria* v [1979]), and work continued in 1977–79 on the W fringes of the Greek settlement (X) along the shores of Lake Sinoë 600 m. W of the acropolis and temenos. Here an archaic defensive line has been identified, stone blocks 1–1.2 m. long, and possibly part of a gateway. Two streets were followed up along a length of 9 m. (*Dacia* xxiii [1979] 357–8; xxiv [1980] 360). A destruction of the wall is linked with Darius' Scythian expedition and with the Scythian retaliatory raid S of the Danube c. 513–510 B.C.

Imported Greek pottery has been intensively studied by Rumanian specialists. P. Alexandrescu has studied the early E Greek pottery (*Les Céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est – Bibliothèque Naples* No. 4 [1978] 52–61), and, jointly with M. Coia, the Attic pottery imported down to c. 480 B.C. (*RA* 1973, 23–38). A new classification of the imported archaic E Greek pottery from Istros is published by P. Dupont (*Dacia* xxvii [1983] 19–44). M. Lazarov was concerned with archaic pottery generally in the west Pontic cities, but Istros figured large in his paper. Useful is his inclusion of the bulk-carrying (wine and oil) amphorae found on these sites (*Tskhaltubo* ii 61–8). For the classical and Hellenistic periods V. Sirbu continues the work of Canarache by publishing the Thasian, Rhodian, Herakleian and Sinopian amphora stamps from Istros (*Istros* i [1980] 137–55).

Some topographical studies of Istros have appeared. The water supply by aqueduct is discussed by Botzan (*Pontica* xiii [1980] 303 ff.), and aerial photography has been used on the area by Alexandrescu and Dorutsiu-Boila (*Peuce* ii [1971] 27–46). The uses of aerial photography for the layout of the

necropolis and its plan of intersecting roadways, but also the interest of palaeogeographical studies for the topography of the coastal and underwater parts of the town and settlement, are well displayed in Alexandrescu's article 'Notes de topographie histriennes' (*Dacia* xxii [1978] 331–42).

Relations with the Getic peoples are by now well attested, with the massive importation of wine amphorae and of a considerable amount of decorated pottery throughout the 5th and 4th cents. The evidence from the burials in the tumulus necropolis shows that some local Getai were drawn into the close environs of Istros, and many became fairly wealthy on the proceeds (of slave sales?) (Alexandrescu, *Histria* ii [1964] 133 ff.; *VIII Congrès International Class. Arch.*, [Paris, 1965] 336–9). On the other hand few of the remoter settlements imported Greek pottery in the archaic period. In the Dobrudzha there is Tariverde, 14 km. W of Istros, Corbu and Cape Dolozhman, and a necropolis beneath the present-day Histria village (*Pontica* v [1972] 77–88; iv [1971] 41–56; *Buletin monumentelor istorice* xli 3 [1972] 3). The Tariverde settlement has been thought to be an *emporion* of Istros, but it may rather have been simply under heavy Greek influence from the nearby city.

For the Hellenistic period, a welcome insight is offered into the precarious position of Istros on the fringes of Scythian and Getic power by an inscription recording a treaty, made by three ambassadors, with Zalmodegikos, a Getic chieftain of the 3rd cent. B.C. (Pippidi, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte Histrias* [1962] 75–88). In the 2nd cent. she had a further treaty with one Rhemaxos, but was destroyed in the mid 1st cent. B.C. by the Daci and Getai of Burebistas. The second *ktisis* under the Roman aegis did not restore her to her former strength, which was probably taken up by Tomis. The ancient period came to an end in the 240s A.D. But the massive walls of the 5th–6th cents A.D. show that Istros was still an ideal site for trade, and the Byzantines appreciated it as such down to the beginning of the 7th cent.

A few general works should be mentioned in conclusion of this section on Rumania. D. Berciu's book *Arta Traco-Getilor* (Bucharest, 1969) is a basic study of the metalwork products of the Thracian-Getic peoples, and an illustrated catalogue of the British Museum (*Treasures from Romania* [1971] 48–64) gives a briefer, but useful survey. The general history of the Dobrudzha was re-written in the 1960s by D. Berciu and D. M. Pippidi, *Din Istoria Dobrogei* (Vol. i, 1965), and by R. Vulpe and J. Barnea (Vol. ii, 1968). A brief English account of the Dobrudzhan cities is to be found in E. Condurachi and C. Daicoviciu, *Romania-Archaeologia Mundi* (1971) 73–99. Rusyaeva publishes terracottas of the archaic to Hellenistic periods, found in the cities of the Dobrogea and as far north as Olbia (A. S. Rusyaeva, *Antichnye Terrakoty Severo-Zapadno Prichernomor'ya* [Kiev, 1982]).

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The next city northwards was **Tyras (Belgorod Dniestrov-sky)** across the national boundary in the Ukraine (Fig. 8). It lay some 19 km. up the estuary of the river of the same name (Dniestr). Between the Danube delta and the estuary, and along the coast to the N were four or five minor settlements – Isiakōn Limēn, Istriānōn Limēn, Ordessos, Skopeloi, which have recently been the subject of a topographical study (Agbunov, *VDI* 1981, 1, 124–48). From a study of ancient sea levels the estuary of the Dniestr is now argued to be the result of flooding of a low-lying island between two arms of the ancient river (Agbunov, *VDI* 1979, 2, 128–38). The present

GREEK CITIES and the PEOPLES of the HINTERLAND of SOUTH RUSSIA and the NORTH COAST of the BLACK SEA—

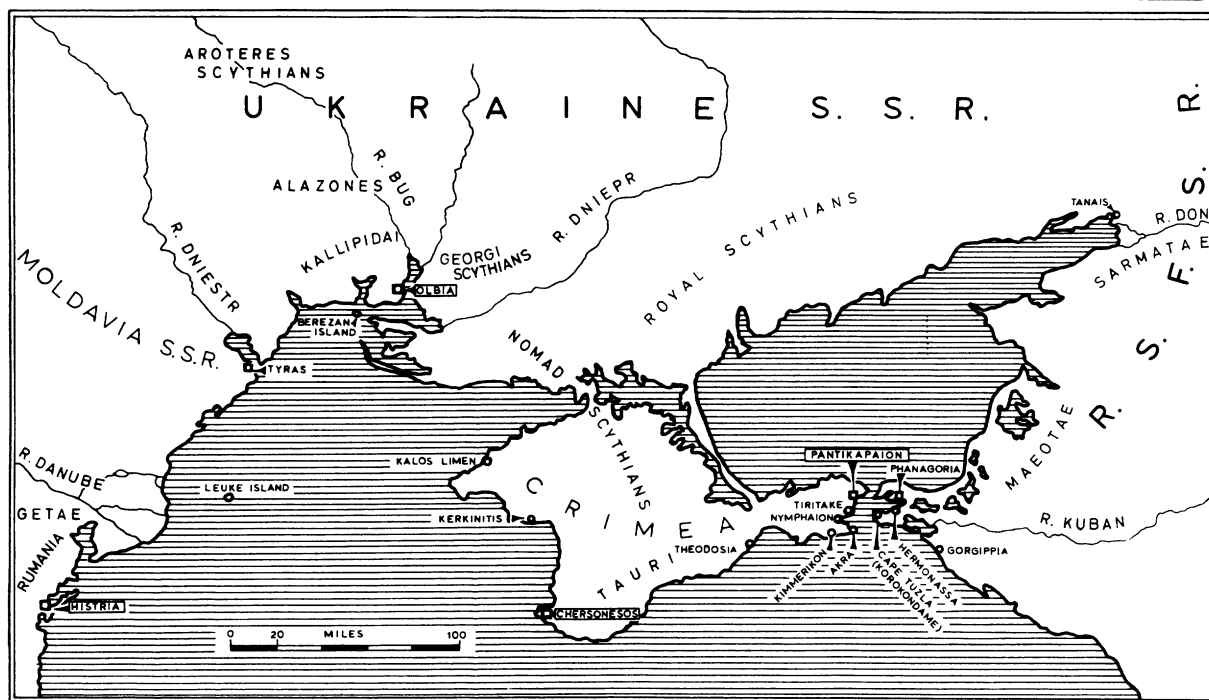


Fig. 8

Belgorod was the late classical, Hellenistic and Roman city of Tyras, while on the other side of the estuary (former delta) lies Nikōnion at Roxolanskoye, a site of the 5th to 3rd cents B.C., with a later Roman period of occupation (Karyshkovsky, *MA SP v* [1966] 149–62). A third city, Ophiussa, is mentioned by Pliny as an earlier name of Tyras, but Agbunov argues that it lay on the island and was then deserted as water levels rose.

The excavations carried out almost every year at Belgorod in the fortress area have brought to light a stretch of Hellenistic defensive wall and the basements of houses of the 3rd to 2nd cents B.C. (*AO* 1979, 276–7). Tiles of a vexillation of legion I *Italica* are found regularly in Roman layers and attest the stationing there of a Roman detachment in the 2nd cent. A.D. Trade is studied from ceramic imports by Okhotnikov and Samoilova (*PDKSP* 42–62). A little known monograph by A. N. Zograph merits mention (*Monety Tiry* [1957] 1–32, 64–77) for numismatists and archaeologists alike. Zaginailo considers the weight system of the 4th cent. coinage (*Num. i Epig.* xi [1974] 54). A new hoard from Dorotskoye multiplies many times the known silver coins of Tyras (*Num. i Sphrag.* iv [1971] 78–82). General accounts of the history of the city, and of excavations there, can be found in *Antichny Gorod*, 1963, 40–50, and in *Arkheologia USSR* Vol. VIII (by Furmanskaya and Pruglo).

The interesting late archaic and classical town of **Nikōnion (Roxolanskoye)** was excavated over some eight seasons up to 1965 (*MA SP v* [1966]), and again for several seasons up to 1976 (*AO* 1969, 236; 1972, 280–1; 1974, 288, 308–9; 1976, 293, 372). The building sequence seems to be ‘semi-pit dwellings’ of the late 6th cent., mud brick buildings of the early 5th, stone buildings by the late 5th. A small hoard of the Istrian cast bronze coins with the wheel-type and the letters IΣT was found in 1969, and in 1976 a rare find was made of the small Olbian cast bronze coin with an owl. Of structures, a defensive wall of the 5th to 4th

cents was found in 1975–76, and a plan of Nikōnion has appeared in *KSIA clvi* (1978) 27–32. There is a considerable amount of Attic imported fine ware including a ‘Kerch style’ vase of c. 400–390 B.C. found in 1974, but also Thasian, Chiot, Lesbian and other amphora fragments are numerous. Zaginailo has discussed the evidence for Istrian influence reaching up the coast, and includes the native sites at Mayaki and Nadlimanskoye on the Dniestr estuary (*Tskhaltubo i* 88–9). Minor settlements tentatively located on the estuary are **Turris Neoptolemi**, **Hermonaktos kōmē** and **Physkē**, which last is set at the large ancient site at Bugaz, at the N end of the estuary mouth (Agbunov, *VDI* 1978, 1, 112–23).

Some 45 km. out in the sea from the N arm of the Danube delta is Zmeiny Island (Phidonisi), the ancient **Leukē**. Some recent excavation has been carried out by Pyatysheva, but without much success, because of 19th cent. building disturbance. Finds of coins have long been known from what was a sanctuary of Achilles, but more recently the graffiti on vases found on Leukē have been discussed by Yailenko, along with those from Berezan and Olbia (*VDI* 1980, 2, 72–99; 3, 75–116). Achilles, the God or Hero (*Pontarkhēs* or *Hērōs*) is honoured on inscriptions from Leukē, but also from Beykush and from Berezan Island. The cult is discussed by Hommel (*VDI* 1981, 1, 53–76). Part of the island’s significance may have been that it is the only such island out in the deep of the Pontos, but it also lay on the direct route from Istros to the W part of the Crimea (Gaidukevich, *KSIA cxvi* [1969] 11–19). For the evidence of Ps.–Skylax and Ps.–Skymnos, *Ark. K.* xxxv (1980) 25–38.

Olbia/Borysthenes Polis and Emporion. The area of the Bug and Dniepr river estuaries has been the subject of some of the most intensive work in classical archaeology within the Soviet Union. Excavation started at Olbia in 1896, with the

BEREZAN ISLAND

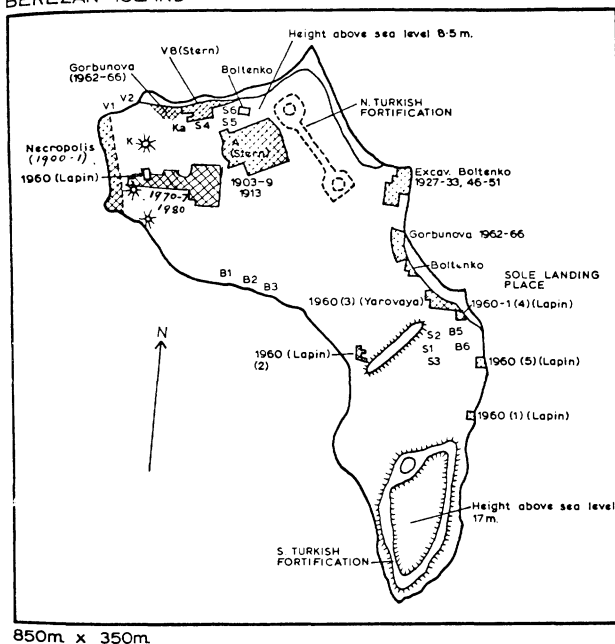


Fig. 9

beginning of the career of Pharnakovsky. Appropriately enough a volume in commemoration of his contribution to Russian Archaeology appeared in 1976 (*Khudozhestvennaya Kultura i Arkheologia Antichnogo Mira*). Thirteen of the papers discuss various aspects of the history and archaeology of Berezan and Olbia. Two monographs have appeared recently, neither written by a Russian. E. Belin de Ballu has produced a book which is largely a compilation of material drawn from old excavations and studies (*Olbia – cité pontique du littoral nord de la mer noire*, Leiden 1972, see reviews in *JHS* xciv [1974] 251 ff.; *Gnomon* xlix [1977] 617 ff.). By contrast A. Wasowicz gives a detailed study of one aspect of Olbia, the development of the polis and territory of the Olbiopolitai. She appends a useful gazetteer of settlements in what she terms the 'micro-region' of Borysthene (*Olbia Pontique et son territoire*, Paris, 1975).

Berezan is now an island, but is thought to have been a peninsula jutting S from the mainland at Viktorovka near Ochakov (Fig. 9). For an understanding of the ancient environment of Berezan, Olbia and the Bug-Dniepr estuary, the palaeogeographical studies by Shilik, showing a great intrusion here by the Black Sea, are essential (K. K. Shilik, *Olbia* [Kiev, 1975] 51-91; M. Agbunov, *VDI* 1981, 1, 127-9).

The ancient settlement on Berezan was in the NE and north-central part of the present island, and the necropolis was in the NW corner. By the E shore, where is the sole landing place, remains of all periods have been found, including Roman, and mediaeval of the 10th to 11th cents A.D. Further W and even in the central parts of the settlement the main periods are of the first half and second half of the 6th cent. though there are hundreds of fragments of the late 7th.

From 1970-75 Lapin carried out excavations, following up his earlier work of 1959-65. These were mainly on the E coast of the island by the landing place. During 1970-77, and again in 1978 and 1980, work was carried out by Kopeikina in the NW of the island, on the W margin of the settlement, and in the necropolis on the NW coast. This proved not to have

been exhausted by the large scale diggings by Skadovsky at the beginning of the century (Kopeikina, *SA* 1981, 1, 192-208; *AO* 1977, 334-5; *AO* 1978, 345-6; *AO* 1980, 263-4). Kopeikina excavated some 20,000 sq.m. up to 1977. Twenty-four semi-pit-dwellings were found – oval (3 × 4 m.), or round (2.8 × 3 m.) and hollowed out to a depth of about 0.7 or 0.9 m. This type of dwelling was typical of a first building phase of the later 7th and first half of the 6th cent. B.C. In a later archaic phase, streets aligned SW-NE, and paved areas appeared, rectangular stone buildings and stone-constructed basements. Drainage was installed. A small shrine with an altar is noted (*SA* 1975, 2, 193-8).

The large amount of archaic imported pottery has been cause for admiration since the beginning of the century. East Greek and Athenian workshops predominate. Here it is necessary simply to remark on some unique, or unusual finds – bird bowls (*SA* 1973, 3, 240), a fine Lakonian cup (Hermitage B 76 100; *SA* 1981, 1, 206 fig. 10b). There is also a fragmentary Chiot chalice with a horseman on it, and a Corinthian oinochoe of c. 650-625 B.C., both unpublished, and in Kiev (*Tskhaltubo* i 112 n.8).

Shalagina has published a number of bird, rosette and lotus bowls (*Arkheologia* 1980, 20-32). Archaic terracottas are published by Kopeikina (*VDI* 1977, 3, 92-104). Still unpublished, I believe, are the two large fragments of Athenian 'SOS' amphorae seen by me in the Odessa Museum in 1963 (Inv. AB 62-431) (Fig. 10). Of great interest is the hoard of

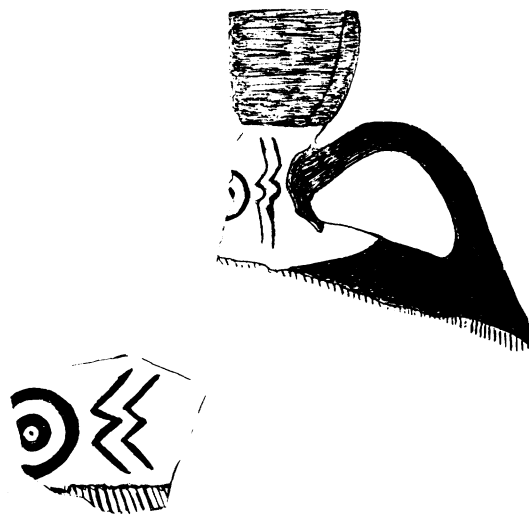


Fig. 10

11 pieces of arrow-money found in 1977, stressing the economic links reaching up the W coast of the Black Sea from the gulf of Burgas to the Dniepr. Individual finds of arrow-money were frequently made here even before this hoard (*Tskhaltubo* ii, 173 n.14). Finally, among the finds, pride of place must go to the small hoard of electrum coins found with gold jewellery in a decorated jug of E Greek style of the early 6th cent. B.C. This remains unpublished, to the best of my knowledge, though it was found in 1975 (Lapin and Karyshkovsky, *Tskhaltubo* i, 105-6). The hoard consisted of a stater with a protome of a lioness or panther on the obverse (13.6 gm.) and three tritai with rosettes as obverse types (4.67 gm., 4.52 gm., 4.38 gm.). The reverses are irregular incuses. With the full publication of this find a closer date (it may well be in the first half of the 6th cent.) should be established for some of the

early electrum coinage of Ionia. The likeliest origin of the coins is in Miletos, but the excavators leave open the possibility of other E Greek cities (e.g. Erythrae).

As to the social structure and political status of Berezan there has in the past been disagreement. Marchenko now shows that the native hand-made pottery need not precede the Greek settlement, and points to the connections of the incised pottery with the Thracian lands just N and S of the Danube (*Sbornik Pharmakovskiy* 157–65). Kopeikina notes the small percentage of hand-made pottery from Berezan (8–14%) and of crouched burials (23%), and draws the conclusion that a small number of mixed barbarians, including Scythians from the mid 6th cent. B.C. were attracted to live in the new settlement.

The question whether Berezan was a part of the Olbian state, and its exact relationship with Olbia, has been discussed by Karyshkovsky, (*KSO GAM* ii [1967] 85 ff.), who believes that the *emporion* of the Borysthenites, and the *asty* (town) and *polis* (city-state), which was Olbiopolis, were one and the same. Against this, Vinogradov argues that Berezan was the *emporion* for Olbia, once the site at Parutino had been appropriated (*Sbornik Pharmakovskiy* 75–84). Kopeikina, the excavator of Berezan, seems to agree, while pointing out that the Berezan settlement ceased to flourish towards the beginning of the 5th cent. B.C. In my view, the settlement on Berezan was undoubtedly the first in the Dniepr estuary and the whole north Black Sea area, and was an embryo *polis* from the start, gradually (by the early 6th cent.?) becoming a significant *emporion* for substantial traders. The terms used by Herodotus for settlements, or a settlement, in the estuary, all should apply to the mid 5th cent. B.C. or thereabouts – the time of Herodotus' own visit (*Thracia Pontica* ii, forthcoming). At that time Berezan was seemingly of little account, except perhaps as a landmark, 38 km. before reaching Olbia. The terms *Borystheneiteōn asty*, *polis* (Hdt. iv 78–9), and *Borystheneiteōn emporion*, and *Borysthenēs emporion* seem to apply to different aspects of the same city (the latter perhaps even to its harbour area), which was by this time known as Olbiopolis. On the other hand, it is easy to understand how the Olbiopolitans had come to be called loosely Borysthenites, if the first *polis* had been in the estuary of the Borysthenes. It would merely be the retention of an earlier name, and indeed still relevant in view of the fact that territory on both estuaries was held by the *polis*. It is also possible that the *emporion* may have referred to the wider 'market' offered by the *polis* in the Dniepr estuary, including such manufacturing settlements as Yagorlyk.

The Berezan lead letter which was found in 1971, mentioned by Gorbunova, and immediately published by Vinogradov (*VDI* 1971, 4, 74–100), continues to attract the further interest of scholars, including Chadwick (*Proc. Camb. Philological Soc.* cxcix [1973] 35–7), B. Bravo (*Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* i [1974] 111–87, and Yailenko (*VDI* 1974, 1, 133–51; 1975, 3, 133–50). The latter dates it to the end of the 6th cent. or early 5th on the strength of the letter forms, and seeks to find a place-name, Arbinai or Arbinatai referring to somewhere within the Olbian *khōra*, maybe even Berezan. The text is given – in the English translation:

'Achillodorus' lead [letter] to his son and to Anaxagoras.

'O Protagoras, your father tells you that he is being wronged by Matasys, for he is deceiving him and has deprived him of the *phortegesios*. Go to Anaxagoras, and tell him that Matasys says that the (*phortegesios*) is the slave of Anaxagoras. He declares that Anaxagoras has his things, slaves, slave-women and houses. But he (the *phortegesios*) protests, and says that he has nothing to do with Matasys. He says that he is free and has no bond with him, but that Matasys and Anaxagoras themselves

know what dealings were done between them. Report these things to Anaxagoras and his wife. And he tells you another thing. He is sending to your mother and brothers in Arbinatai to take them to the city. But Goneoros (or Eoneoros) will come to me, and go down to the sacrifices' (or 'go down directly').

What exactly is the nature of the business between Matasys and Anaxagoras is by no means clear, nor is the role of Protagoras and his father. But the *phortegesios*, or carrier of merchandise, makes it clear that one part concerns property, slaves and otherwise, and another part of the letter involves a family residing in Arbinatai, and being moved to the city. It offers a fascinating insight into life on Berezan in the early 5th cent. B.C.

At Olbia itself in recent years excavations have taken place in four areas in the lower city and underwater (*SA* 1962, 3, 228 ff.; *SA* 1968, 4, 126–37), by the agora in the upper city, near the *dikasterion* and the gymnasium (*KSIA* cxxx [1972] 35–44), in the W range of buildings excavated by Rusyayeva, and Leipunskaya, and in the quarter beyond Hare's Ravine. An overall survey of recent work, 1972–76, within the *polis* and *khōra* is given by Kryzhitsky (*KSIA* clix [1979] 9–16). The emphasis here is on dwellings, and on the spread of occupation from period to period, including two very interesting plans. The likely population of the town by the late archaic period is given as 6,000–10,000, in view of the large number of semi-pit dwellings found in almost all sections of the upper city over some 11–16 hectares. It seems that the archaic material becomes prolific from the second quarter of the 6th cent. B.C., although individual pieces of earlier Wild Goat style pottery are found, and are now published (*KSIA* cxxx [1972] 45–52). Although a very early settlement on the southern acropolis area or in the submerged part of the lower city is possible, it is still to be proved, and it may seem more likely that the few



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

7th cent. pieces of pottery were brought as heirlooms from nearby Berezan when the main settlement was transferred, if that is what happened c. 575 B.C. (Vinogradov, *SA* 1971, 237; Kopeikina, *SA* 1975, 2). Kopeikina has given a general account of what is known of Olbia in the archaic period (*Sbornik Pharmakovskiy*, 131–42). A fascinating local variant of the kouros style of sculpture has been published by Chubova and Lesnitskaya (*ibid.* 210–16) (Fig. 11). Still in the Upper City the western gates have been discovered (*AO* 1978, 358; 1980, 274) – the layer foundations of two towers and a curtain wall of the late 4th cent., which survived until the 2nd or perhaps mid 1st cent. B.C. In the area of the *agora* and *temenos*, further excavations to the N and NW of the *dikasterion* have produced a late archaic stone building, of a sub-megaron plan and pseudo-polygonal construction. Near the gymnasium arrangements for its water supply, and the water supply of the theatre down the slope to its east have been found (*AO* 1972, 302). A hoard of the mid 4th cent. (12 bronze asses) was found in 1968 in section (E³ (*Num. i Ep.* x [1972] 74–8) (Fig. 12). In 1979 interesting finds appeared in Section AGD (to the N of the *Agora/Temenos*). Here it seems that a second religious enclosure was laid over a number of semi-pit dwellings. Two *bothroi* were found, one containing 15 whole Thasian amphorae, with the graffito IEP. There was also a fish bowl with a dedication to Hermes. A second *bothros* contained even more interesting material – numerous architectural terracottas – tiles, *keramydes*, *kalypteres*, antefixes, *akroteria*. They seem to have been from a small decorated temple of E Greek style. Some of the *kalypteres* also bear the graffito IEP. In addition to the small temple, it is thought that some terracotta volutes come from an altar, and other elements (a gorgoneion with curling snake locks) are from votive stelai. The whole deposit bids fair to be very informative about E Greek polychrome terracotta decoration. Elsewhere in the section, to the W, was found a statue base dedicated to Apollo Ietros by an Olbiopolitan, Xanthos, and to the S a double-sided Ionic capital of c. 550–525 B.C. – the earliest element of an architectural order found in the N Black Sea area (*AO* 1979, 332–3).

In the area overlooking Hare's Ravine on the W edge of the city an inscription dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios by Heuresibios was found in 1977 – a temple of that deity seems to be indicated (*AO* 1977, 349–50; *AO* 1978, 358). Somewhat to the N of this, and W of the court building, an inscription of the 3rd cent. B.C. came to light, mentioning the 'College of Seven', magistrates charged with building and repair of the walls (*AO* 1977, 376–7). In all this area Hellenistic buildings of the 3rd to 2nd cents B.C., often with deep basements, filled the quarter W of the main street.

At two points recent excavations are thought to illustrate passages in Herodotus. A dismantled building in the NW corner of the city, overlaid by ruined buildings of the 3rd to 2nd cents B.C., has left fragmentary architectural terracottas, an Ionic column base of Asiatic type and a griffin head in limestone. All this brings to mind Herodotus' tale of the palace of Skyles in Olbia and its ornamentation of griffins (*Hdt.* iv 78–9). (*KSIA* clix [1979] 11–13). Outside the city, across Hare's Ravine, was the now well-known extra-mural settlement, dating from the early to late 5th cent., and a cemetery of Roman date (1st cent. A.D. onwards). This *proasteion* has been excavated by J. Kozub since 1964, and was continued in 1972, 1974, 1978, 1979. Although some structures of the 4th cent. have been found (*AO* 1978, 340), the basic period of this settlement is within the 5th cent. and it seems reasonable to suppose that this is the *proasteion*, at which Herodotus says Skyles left his Scythian entourage when he entered the city (Kozub, *XIV Eirene Conf.* [Yerevan, 1979] ii 316). Vinogradov argues that at this time Olbia was a Scythian protectorate (*Cheiron* x [1980] 76–7). For an early shrine found in this area and functioning for about three-quarters of a century, see Kozub (*Sbornik Pharmakovskiy* 124–30). Full studies of the necropolis in two successive periods have been published (Julia Kozub, *Nekropol Olvii v 5–4 vekakh do nashei ery*, Kiev, 1974; S. M. Parovich-Peshikan, *Nekropol Olvii v ellinisticheskuyu epokhu*, Kiev, 1974).

Other material from Olbia recently made available is in the monograph on imported amphorae by N. A. Leipunskaia,

(*Keramicheskaya Tara iz Olvii*, Kiev, 1981), and an article and monograph on the Hellenistic houses in the Upper and Lower cities by Kryzhitsky (*Dacia* xiii [1969] 101–25; *Zhilye Doma Antichnykh Gorodov Severnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kiev, 1981). Imported Hellenistic pottery is discussed by Zaitseva in *Sbornik Pharmakovskiy* 97–108, and a string of earlier publications on Olbian coinage is continued by Karyshkovsky in the same volume, 109–117, with an article dealing with the crisis issues of coinage by the 'College of Seven' in the late 3rd cent. B.C. A corpus of the inscriptions from Olbia found between 1916 and 1965 is published in *Nadpisi Olvii* (Leningrad, 1968). Very recently inscriptions have been used to study the chief magistrates and eponyms at Olbia (F. Graff, *Museum Helveticum* xxxi [1974] 209–13 – the Molpoi; P. Karyshkovsky, *VDI* 1978, 2, 85 ff. – priests of Apollo; Ju. Vinogradov, *Actes du VII congrès d'épigraphie* [Bucarest, Paris, 1979] 311 – archons).

Archaeological techniques of a more scientific kind have been brought to bear at Olbia. Aerial photography of the area to the W of Olbia has confirmed the existence of the road network in the necropolis worked out by Karasyov on the evidence of antiquarian maps (K. Shishkin, *SA* 1982, 3). In the submerged area of the lower city two large dumps of stones and pottery fragments have been found. Large numbers of amphorae were involved, and even a bronze oinochoe of the 5th cent. B.C. (*AO* 1972, 299–300; *AO* 1976, 318; *AO* 1977, 343–4). The so-called submerged 'mooring-place' is thought to be perhaps a dump for ships' ballast, and the huge piles of pottery to be the remains of a port-side store (K. K. Shilik, *Olvia* [Kiev, 1975] 51–91; *KSLA* cxxiv 109–14).

The territory of Olbia was mainly on the W bank of the R. Bug, but also along the Berezan, Sosyk and Tiligul limans, on the E bank of the Bug opposite Olbia, and at a few points on the Dniepr estuary. It has been intensively studied, sometimes with two or three sections of the Olbian expedition per year operating in the area (L. M. Slavin, *Sbornik Pharmakovskiy* 181–6; *AO* 1974, 262–3, 274, 346–7; *AO* 1979, 319; 1980, 279). There has been some disagreement as to whether the closer settlements on the limans belonged to Greek settlers or to hellenized Kallipidai on whom Herodotus remarks, as being nearest to Olbia on the R. Hypanis (Bug). The settlements seem to commence in the second half of the 6th cent. B.C., some seventy in number, and carry on until abandoned in the early 5th. There was a later occupation in the early 4th cent. with increasing tempo throughout the 4th cent. and another abandonment in the early 3rd. In the Roman period occurred another flourishing period in the 1st and 2nd cents A.D. ('Olviiskii Polis i Kallipidy', *VDI* 1979, 4, 25–36; 'Model grecheskoi Kolonizatsii Nizhnevo Pobuzhya', *VDI* 1980, 1, 131–43). The natural resources in minerals – iron, copper, gold, quartzite sands for glass, but also in timber – have been studied by Ostroverkhov (*VDI* 1979, 3, 115–26). The idea that there was in the area a native population with a strong Thracian admixture is gaining considerable ground, based on distinctive types of handmade pottery and on crouched burials (Marchenko, *Sbornik Pharmakovskiy* 157–65; *VDI* 1980, 1, 142). Some of the excavators insist on the Greekness of all these local settlements (*VDI* 1979, 4, 25 ff.). Further up the R. Bug an attempt has been made to localise the Kallipidai and Alazones (Otreschko, *SA* 1981, 1, 27–41).

More deep-probing into the interior are Onaiko's second volume on ancient Greek imported objects in the Dniepr and Bug areas (N. A. Onaiko, *Antichny Import v Pridnieprovye i Pobuzhe v IV–II vekakh do n.e.*, 1970. *SAI* D 1–27), and Alexandrescu's review article on the same in *RA* 1975, 63–72.



Fig. 13

Two prize finds from this huge area are firstly the discovery in 1960–61 of 15 complete bronze vases in a wooden boat on a tributary of the R. Supoi at Pischanovo (Fig. 13). The boat was probably lost in the early 4th cent., the date of one of the latest bronzes, but some of them seem to be of the early part of the 5th cent. – 1 krater, 3 amphorae, 5 hydriai, 1 stamnos, 3 louteria, 2 situlae (O. D. Ganina, *Arkheologia* xvi [1964]; *Antichni Bronzi z Pischanovo*, Kiev, 1970). This chance find has greatly increased our knowledge of classical bronze vessels. The second astonishing find is that of a large hoard of Kyzikene electrum staters found in 1967, and given preliminary publication in 1969 and 1970 (*SA* 1969, 1, 274–7; *VDI* 1970, 2, 73–86). It comes from Orlovka near Reni, Odessa Region, the coins being found in a bronze oinochoe of c. 475–50. B.C. There were at least 71 staters of varied type (there may have originally been three more), and the latest seem to go down to c. 340–30 B.C. when Kyzikenes ceased to be a major trading currency. As Kyzikene coins are usually found, if at all, in single specimens in the coastal cities (*Istoria i Kultura Antichnogo Mira* [1977] 38), this hoard is an outstanding find, both for its economic and artistic implications. The small find of Kyzikenes recently made at Olbia (8 staters) hardly breaks this generalisation (*SA* 1970, 2, 222–4). For a classification of types and chronology by Bulatovich see *PDKSP* (1981) 114–8; *NAP* (1982) 98–105.

Finally, a recent book on Olbia by a Soviet scholar is Juri Vinogradov's *Olbia – Geschichte einer altgriechischen Stadt am Schwarzen Meer* (*Xenia* Heft 1, Konstanz, 1981). This is a small book, based on a lecture given by the author at Konstanz. Primarily it is a stimulating series of speculations concerning the history of Olbia, particularly in the 5th cent. B.C. (review by Graham, *Gnomon* 1983.5, 461–2). While the theory here presented – of a tyrant at Olbia under the protection of the Scythians during the later 5th and early 4th cents B.C. – may not in the long run prove acceptable, there is no doubt that his treatment of the graffito on the Fikellura sherd (p. 14 ff.) and the Apatourios lead letter (p. 19), as well as the inscription published by him in 'Sinopa i Olvia', *VDI* 1981, 2, 65–90 will cause interest and controversy for some years to come. Equally controversial will be his dating, and interpretation of, an inscription (*VDI* 1981, 3, 67 ff.), which he takes to be honouring a liberator from the tyrant in the early 4th cent. B.C.

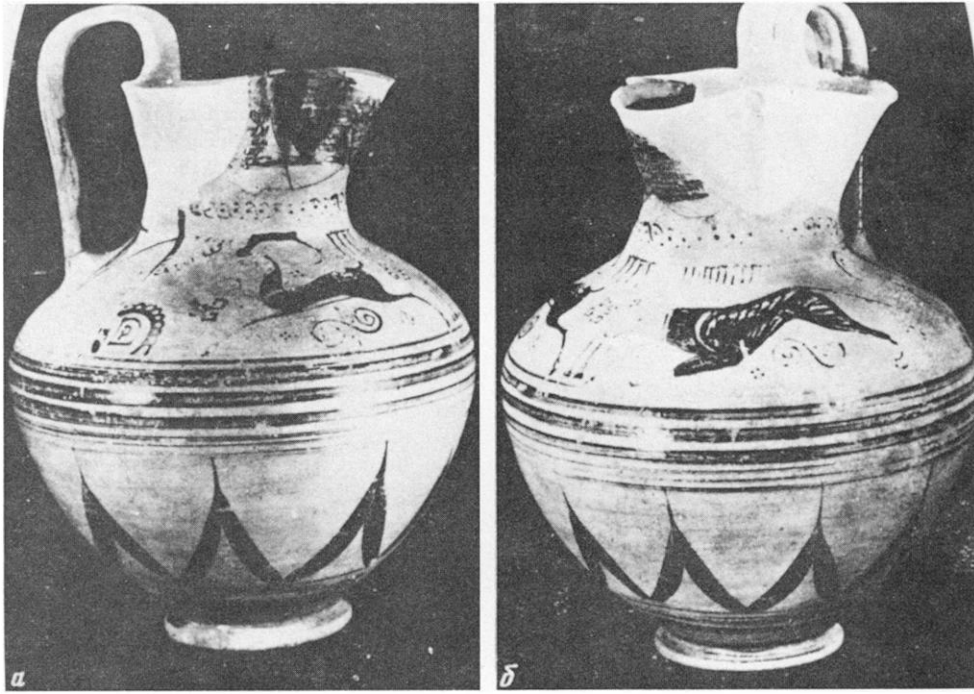


Fig. 14

The North-West Crimea and Tarkhankut Peninsula.

Moving into the Crimea we may note the recent (1977) find of a Wild Goat style oinochoe of c. 625–600 B.C. in a Scythian tumulus at **Philatovka**, near Krasnoperekop on the narrow isthmus between the Ukraine and the Crimea (Korpusova, *VDI* 1980, 2, 100–4) (Fig. 14). This is an outstanding find, comparable to the discovery of an oinochoe at Temir Gora near Kerch in the last century. Interestingly, also in *VDI* (1980, 4, 155–60) is an article discussing the route taken by the nomad Scythians from their western regions to the Kimmerian Bosporos area, and in winter across the frozen Bosporos into the lands of the Sindoi (Hdt. iv 28).

Recent work on the coastal area of the north-west Crimea has involved the small city **Kerkinitis**, the even smaller **Kalos Limen** and a chain of fortified coastal settlements. These were apparently part of the territory of **Khersonesos** from the early 4th to the mid 2nd cents B.C. (after that destroyed), to become Scythian settlements until the mid 1st cent. B.C., e.g. Belyaus, Chaika. Concerning Kerkinitis Dashevskaya argues that Herodotus' Kerkinitis on the R. Hypakiris is the site at Eupatoria on Lake Donuslav, and further derived the name from a personal name Karkinos (*VDI* 1970, 2, 121–8) – all other Karkine towns are on lakes, which may suggest a different, topographical meaning. Recent excavations in **Eupatoria** (Kerkinitis) have discovered burials of the 4th to 3rd cents (SA 1981, 3, 181–92). Discussion has largely centred on the identity of the native population of the area, who may have been first Satarkhai, then Scythian nomads (*Tskhaltubo* ii 218–26, 227–32). Excavations since 1980 have turned up mainly Hellenistic material (*AO* 1980, 246; *Tskhaltubo* iii 28–9).

A general periodisation of Kerkinitis, Kalos Limen and the other settlements is given by Scheglov (*Sbornik Zhebelyov* 332–42), and full studies of the area have now appeared (A. N. Scheglov, *Severo-Zapadny Krym v Antichnuyu Epokhu*, 1978; *Polis i Khora*, Simferopol, 1976). A full reconstruction of a house of the late 4th to second half of the 3rd (or 2nd) cent.

B.C. at Kalos Limen is provided by Scheglov in *Sbornik Pharmakovskiy* 232–8. A settlement near Eupatoria lighthouse was destroyed, at a time fixed archaeologically by a hoard of 20 bronze coins of the early 3rd cent. B.C., and this date may also mark the beginning of native pressure on Khersonesos (*AO* 1980, 246). In 1978 and 1980 Yatsenko excavated further at 'Chaika', one of the fortified settlements near Eupatoria; in one large multi-roomed building numerous roofing tiles of Sinope and Khersonesos were found, dating to the 4th–3rd cents B.C. A necropolis at Zaozernoye is now linked with the 'Chaika' site (*AO* 1977, 409; 1980, 328–9). It is fashionable to call the 'Chaika' site an *emporion* (trading station) which it probably was not, and the series of settlements *teikhē* ('the forts'), but the *teikhē* of Khersonesos were probably the walls across the isthmus on the Mayachny Peninsula near Khersonesos itself. A splendid find from 'Chaika' is the bronze statuette of an Amazon rider (Fig. 15), found in 1964, but published in 1972 by Kobylina (*Antichnaya Skulptura*, 1972, pl. XIII).

It is known that the **Scythians** moved down into the Crimea in the late 4th or early 3rd cents B.C. (after defeats at the hands of Philip of Macedon, and under pressure from the Sarmatians). Their capital from the 3rd cent. was at Kermen-chik, near Simferopol, a site usually identified with Neapolis. Rayevsky advances further reasons for accepting Dashevskaya's suggestion that this capital was in fact called Palakion (*VDI* 1976, 1, 102–7). Vysotskaya reviews the cults observed at this late Scythian capital and other sites (*VDI* 1976, 3, 51–73). The population of the Crimea in Scythian times is studied by Olkhovsky (SA 1981, 3, 52–65; SA 1982, 4, 61–81). On the basis of the literary sources and archaeological evidence from the regions he places the Taphrioi in the Siwash area and, in part, in the Kerch Peninsula, the Satarkhai in the West Crimea, and the Tauro-Skythai in the foothill areas of the S Crimea.

Khersonesos was a relatively late foundation from Herakleia. It is universally, and almost certainly rightly, assigned to c.

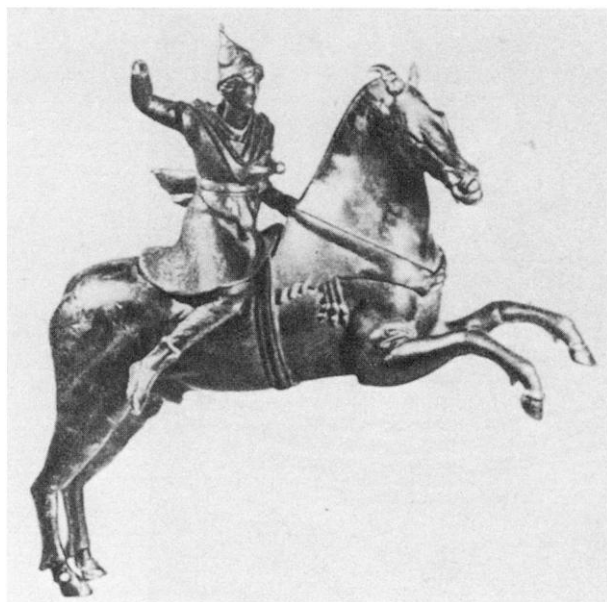


Fig. 15

422/1 B.C. as a joint colony of Herakleia with the Boeotians of Delion (Tyumenev, *VDI* 1938, 2, 245 ff.). Attention has centred on the small amount of pottery of E Greek type of the late 6th and early 5th cents (Belov, *T. Gos. Hermit.* xiii [1972] 23 ff.), but such as there is might have been left by ships plying northwards to the already existing Kerkitis, and, on the way, trading some wares with a small Taurian settlement, or they may have been brought with them by the first settlers. The most recent study of the earliest material from Khersonesos is by Zedgenidze (*KSIA* clxix [1979] 26–34), an article following up an earlier study of the rf pottery from the site (*KSIA* clvi [1978] 69–78), and followed in its turn by a discussion of the 5th–4th cent. necropolis of Khersonesos (*KSIA* clxviii [1981] 3–9). Zedgenidze's conclusions are that the vast mass of material from the necropoleis in the N of the city, and by the theatre, dates from the late 5th or 4th cents B.C. (*KSIA* cxlv [1976] 29). The earliest pieces of sculpture, architectural fragments and the remarkable cache of painted stelai found during the excavations of tower XVII, all point to the same date (*KSIA* cxlv [1976] 3 ff.). An Olbian gorgon-type heavy cast coin, the earliest of non-Khersonesite coins found at Khersonesos, also belongs to the late 5th cent. B.C. or the early 4th. What is more, no early 5th cent. native Taurian settlements seem to have existed, to trade with the hypothetical *emporion* or proto-colony. Finally, the earliest development of the territory of Khersonesos, that on Mayachny Peninsula 10 km. W of Khersonesos, seems to belong to the early or mid 4th cent. B.C. (V. I. Kats, *Antichny Mir i Arkheologia* i [Saratov, 1971] 36; A. N. Scheglov, 'Stary Khersones Strabona' – 150 *Lit Odesskomy Arkh. Museyu* [Kiev, 1975] 136; Zherebtsov, *KSIA* cxlv [1976] 15). This area seems to be Strabo's 'Old Khersonesos', perhaps an intensively developed part of the *khōra* behind a double line of walls, which could serve as a strong point and refuge, if the then hostile Bosporans made an attempt on the city. The varied motives for the colonization of Khersonesos and the circumstances aiding the venture are discussed by Zedgenidze in *Tskhaltubo* i 89–94. Another question much debated has been whether the crouched burials found in the early necropolis by the N shore within the city implied a pre-existing Taurian settlement (Kadeyev, *VDI* 1973,

4, 108–16). Zedgenidze and Savelya have now studied the late 5th and 4th cent. necropoleis, including ones by Quarantine Bay, the southern defensive walls, by the theatre, etc. The N cemetery, with its poor inventory, and 40% of crouched burials, is seen as something of an anomaly, and as the last resting place of a dependent section of the population (*KSIA* clxviii [1981] 3–9). Perhaps they were dependent non-citizens – like the Mariandynoi at Herakleia – some mixed Tauroi and Satarkhai used as serfs by the citizens.

Other fields in which recent advances have been made are in the study of Khersonesite coinage. Here the work of Anokhin is most important: V. A. Anokhin, *The Coinage of Khersonesos from the Fourth Century B.C. to the Twelfth Century A.D.* (B.A.R. Suppl. lxxix [1980]) 11–88; Grandmezon (*NAP* [1982] 34–42).

Amphora capacities in Hellenistic Khersonesos have been analysed in *VDI* 1981, 1, 150–61, stamps and magistrates in *VDI* 1979, 2, 139–59 and 1979, 3, 127–45, and graffiti have been studied in *VDI* 1976, 3, 121–41. Probably the most interesting branch of study at Khersonesos is that of the late 5th and 4th cent. land division of the *khōra* into allotments on Herakleisky Peninsula (Fig. 16). Both the system of laying out

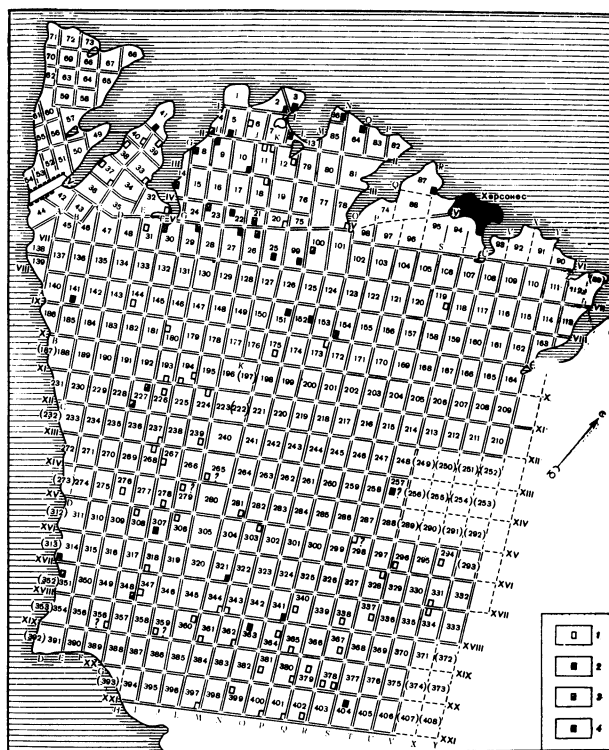


Fig. 16

the network on the large scale, and the internal plans of individual allotments have been plotted, analysed and excavated (A. N. Scheglov, *Polis i Khōra* [Simferopol, 1976]). From the results of archaeological work, done largely between 1974 and 1979, some 408 plots have been planned on the peninsula, and eight holdings excavated. Normally allotments seem to have been 630 × 420 m; in the 4th cent. they were equipped with rectangular towers. In the mid 2nd cent. B.C. defences were strengthened against the Crimean Scyths, and again in the 3rd and 4th cents A.D. reconstruction and further fortification took place, aimed against Gothic and Hunnic incursions

(Kruglikova, *KSIA* clxviii [1981] 9–16). Kruglikova also offers an interesting history of the study of these allotments, and Zherebtsov has picked out five for detailed study of subdivision and planting arrangements (*KSIA* clxviii 17–26). A by-product of the work on these allotments has been the scientific study of grape seeds, wheat, barley and other grains (Nikolayenko and Yanushevich, *KSIA* cxlviii 26–34). The grapes used are thought to be not far removed from the wild varieties found in the Crimea; a soft-grained variety of wheat is common at Khersonesos, apparently, while barley is more common in the NW Crimea (e.g. at Tarpanchi and Panskoye). A fascinating, unique, discovery was the find in 1969 of two stelai of the late 4th cent. B.C., among a cache found built into curtain wall XX of the Khersonesite defensive wall. These two stelai belonged to doctors, and both have painted representations of medical instruments (forceps, pincers, spatula, cupping-glass). One is of Leskhanoris, son of Eukles, a physician of Tenedos, the other is that of Dionysios, son of Pontagnotos. (*VDI* 1974, 1, 94–105). A collection of 108 inscriptions from Khersonesos was published by E. I. Solomonnik (*Novye Epigraphicheskiye Pamyatniki Khersonesa*, Kiev, 1964). Two articles discuss the cross-Pontos contacts of a military and political character in the mid 2nd cent. B.C. (Saprykin, *VDI* 1979, 3, 43–59), and in the first three centuries A.D. (Kadeyev, *VDI* 1979, 2, 55–76). At all times, at the first foundation, in the 4th cent. B.C., in the 2nd cent. B.C. at the time of Pharnakes of Pontus, later when Diophantos, the general of Mithridates, relieved the city from Scythian pressure, and again in the Roman period, Khersonesos reaped the benefit of being at the N end of the short cross voyage over the Black Sea.

Work on the culture of the **Tauroi** has become much better based with the accumulation of archaeological material from Herakleisky Peninsula, and from coastal Crimea and the Piedmont area of the Crimea (Leskov, *Gornyy Krym v I Tysacheletii do n.e.*, Kiev, 1965). Relations between the Greeks and the Tauroi, and the development of the *khora* of Khersonesos have recently been sketched out by Savelya (*Tskhaltubo i* 166–76), and by Scheglov (*Tskhaltubo ii* 204–18). There seem to have been some ten native settlements on Herakleisky Peninsula before the colony. These were then swept away, and replaced by about 30 of the 4th to 3rd cents B.C., situated at 1 to 1.5 km. away from the citizen allotment system.

Theodosia started as an independent city, and was even aided by Khersonesos and Herakleia against the encroaching archons or tyrants of Bosporos. It was situated at the very edge of the mountains of S Crimea at the western end of the curving Bay of Theodosia, and almost in the Kerch Peninsula. Recent archaeological work (1975–79) has been carried out by Katyushin, Peters, Zaginailo and Belyaev, within the area of mediaeval Kaffa, but also in a necropolis at Tepe Oba, 1.5 km. W of Theodosia, and at minor settlements to the S and W, including a fortified farm of the 4th cent. B.C. (*AO* 1977, 328, 373–4; 1978, 334–5; 1979, 273–4). Amphora stamps, mainly Herakleiot and Sinopian, from here are published in *SA* 1981, 2, 207–22. A historical sketch of the circumstances of Theodosia's forcible unification with Bosporos c. 389/8 B.C. and of the coinage, with its odd legend 'Theodeo', is attempted by Blavatsky (*SA* 1981, 4, 21–9). An archaeological and architectural park was opened at Theodosia in 1976, a year in which a considerable amount of 4th and 3rd cent. pottery was found in the lowest layers within the citadel (*AO* 1976, 353–4). The death of V. D. Blavatsky in 1980 was a sad loss to students of the area.

Pantikapaion (modern Kerch) is best known as the capital of the archons, later kings, of Bosporos (**Fig. 17**). There is, however, a good deal of discussion about the early role of the site, and its relationship with other townships, in particular Nymphaion, some miles to the S, and with Hermonassa on the Asiatic side of the Kimmerian Bosporos. The prevailing theories are that the Arkhaianaktidai, who, according to Diodoros, ruled on the Bosporos c. 480–438/7 B.C., were rather of Mytilenian extraction from Hermonassa, than Milesian from the missing Apollonia on the Bosporos (Blavatsky, *Klio* lii [1970] 33–6). The Spartokidai, who succeeded them were, it is supposed, rather Thracian-Maeotian nobles from the population of the Asiatic Bosporos than the descendants of intrusive Thracian mercenaries, or Scythian or even Greek population elements (Boltunova, *VDI* 1964, 3,

GREEKS ON KIMMERIAN BOSPOROS IN ARCHAIC PERIOD

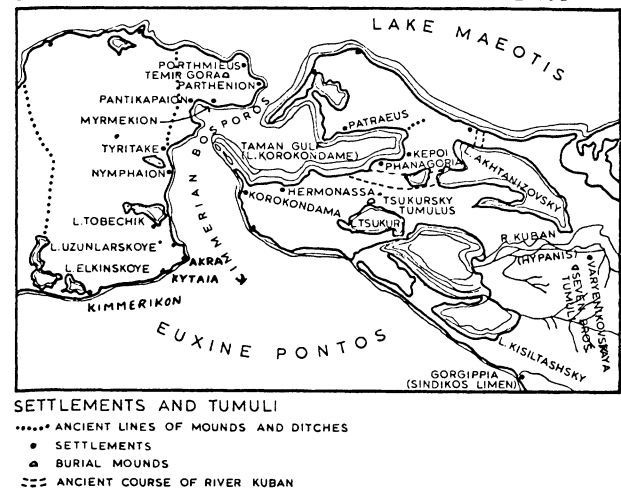


Fig. 17

136–49; J. B. Brashinsky, *VDI* 1965, 1, 118–27; Blavatsky, *Pantikapei* [1964] 55–6). But there is still much to be said for the view that the Arkhaianaktidai were Milesian and the Spartokids of Thracian stock.

Pantikapaion in the long period from the 6th cent. B.C. to the 4th cent. A.D. has been given monograph treatment by Blavatsky in *Pantikapei* – *Ocherki Istorii Stolitsy Bospora* (Moscow, 1964), and this can be set alongside the new German edition of V. F. Gajdukjevich's *Das Bosporanische Reich* (1971). There are two brief articles in English by T. Noonan, on the earliest stages of Pantikapaion (*AJA* lxxvii [1973] 77–81), and on the grain trade between Athens and Bosporos (*AJP* xciv [1973] 231–42). Also recently available in English are two numismatic monographs, translated into the British Archaeological Reports series: D. B. Shelov, *Coinage of the Bosporus VI–II cent. B.C.* (*BAR* S xlvii [1978]) and N. A. Frolova, *The Coinage of the Kingdom of the Bosporus AD 69–238* (*BAR* S lvi [1979]). In German there is the article by D. P. Kallistov in *Hellenische Poleis* ii [Berlin, 1974] 587–607, on the cities which made up the Bosporan Kingdom.

The long-known oinochoe from Temir Gora, N of Kerch has at last been fully published by Kopeikina (*VDI* 1972, 1, 156) (**Fig. 18**). Belonging to c. 650–625 B.C., it helps to date the Scythian objects found in it (*SA* 1972, 3). Probably this burial is of a Scythian notable engaged in that west-to-east journey which ended at the Kimmerian Bosporos, but in time



Fig. 18

of winter crossed over into Sindikē (*Tskhaltubo* i 78; *VDI* 1980, 4, 155–60). There is doubt as to where the silver coin mint of Apollonia (APOL on reverse) of the 5th cent. B.C. was located, whether at what was later to become Pantikapaion, or at Nymphaion or Phanagoria. Without actually identifying this Apollonia on Bosphoros, an article by Dyukov gives a good description of this short series (*VDI* 1975, 4, 71–4). My own feeling (*Thracia Pontica* ii forthcoming), is that Pantikapaion was, up to the time of Herodotus (c. 440 B.C.), the place called Kremnoi by him (iv 20; 110), and labelled by him an *emporion* in the land of the 'Free Scythians.' If that was its descriptive name, given by sailors, it may also have had, if only briefly, the official name, Apollonia (Gajdukevich, *Bosporanische Reich* 52 n. 11). But that probably changed soon after 438 B.C. with the coming to power of the Spartokids.

Indeed, whether or not Apollonia was on the site at Kerch, the name was dropped, probably as too closely associated with the preceding ruling group, the Arkhaianaktidai. An article by Vinogradov (*VDI* 1974, 4 56–67) touches on the early history of Pantikapaion, hinting at a need to re-think the view that a pre-colony trading-post may have been on the site (65–66), but the main purpose of the article is to publish an oinochoe found in an archaic pit in 1973; the fabric was of grey clay and under the handle was a graffito – 'Munios eimi prokhos', 'I am the prochous of Muniis.' Vinogradov takes the name to be a mixture of Carian and Milesian, and to be that of one of the first settlers in the colony at Kerch. In 1980 (*Chiron* x 63–100) he returned to the wider theme, attributing the unification of the Bosporan cities, first under the Arkhaianaktidai, then under the Spartokidai (c. 480–438 B.C.), to necessity arising from Scythian pressure.

Recent excavations on the site of Pantikapaion have been concentrated on the *akropolis* on Mt. Mithridates. A late archaic armourer's workshop (excavated in the 1950s and 1967–68) was published in *SA* 1971, 21, 148–56. A survey of the results obtained on the *akropolis* was done by Marchenko for *Živa Antika* (Skopje) xxv (1975) 1–2, 318 ff. During the period 1970–80, excavations by I. Marchenko and, since 1977 by Tolstikov, have laid bare a late Hellenistic *prytaneion*, and

a considerable amount of the citadel, curtain walls with internal corridors, towers and gateways (*AO* 1972, 307–8; 1976, 330–1; 1977, 391; 1978, 412; 1979, 346; 1980, 315). Traces of the destruction by earthquake in 63 B.C. were noted, and a destruction by fire at the end of the 2nd cent. A.D.

Architectural details, such as an Ionic capital (*VDI* 1974, 2), and a study of temples and other 'ordered' buildings (*VDI* 1975, 1, 117–37) are published by Pichikyan. More architectural elements have been found very recently, a large Ionic capital of 5th cent. form (*AO* 1979, 346), and a piece of cornice with egg-and-dart, bead-and-reel motifs and a Lesbian *cymation* (*AO* 1980, 315), seemingly of late 5th to 4th cent. B.C. form.

For relations between Pantikapaion under the Spartokids and Athens in the early to mid-4th cent. B.C. C. Tuplin contributes a paper on 'IG II² 212 and Isokrates 17.57' in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* xlix (1982) 121–8 and a recent paper at the *Epigraphic Congress in Athens* (1982, 33–4), deals with decrees found in Pantikapaion, Phanagoria and elsewhere (T. V. Chelov-Kovedjajev, 'Les decrets bosporiens et l'histoire du Bosphore cimmérien au 4ème siècle avant J.C.'). The most exciting recent find is that of a marble ritual table. This dates to the end of the 2nd cent. B.C., and shows some unexpected alliances. One Dedmotis, daughter of Skilouros, the Scythian king, and wife of one Herakleides, dedicated to a Scythian goddess Dithagoia for the health of Pairisades, the last Spartokid king of Bosphoros (*AO* 1979, 346). Later, c. 109 B.C. Pairisades was to abdicate and the Bosporans to call in Mithridates of Pontus against the Scythians. All this had been called forth by a rebellion within the Bosporan cities of a group led by a Scythian called Saumakos. The status of Saumakos, whether leader of an oppressed social group or of a group rivalling the Spartokids, has been much debated, including recent articles by Gaidukevich (*Sbornik Zhebelyov* 81–95; *Epigraphic Congress* [Athens, 1982] 174–9). Strabo's comments on the political history of Bosphoros have been analysed by Gratsianskaya (*Drevneishiye Gosudarstva na Territorii SSSR* [1976] 11–15).

The smaller towns of the European side of the Bosphoros, mainly on the shore of the Bosphoros itself were Nymphaion, Myrmekion, Tyritake, Porthmia, Kytia, but also Iluraton, and the fort at Mikhailovka. **Nymphaion** was of the greatest importance in the early period, as its rich 5th-cent. burials give some hint. The contents of five tumuli of various sizes which were excavated in 1868 and found their way to Oxford have recently been published by M. Vickers, *Scythian Treasures in Oxford* (1979). They contained a large number of Scythian style dress appliqué, arrow-heads and horse accoutrements, as well as numerous Greek pottery imports.

Excavations at Nymphaion by N. L. Grach are long-standing (1966–69, 1972–74, 1977–78). Within the town parts of a 4th–3rd cent. building have been explored underwater, and a wine-pressing plant of the 4th cent. has been found, the earliest known within the N Black Sea area. It is interesting to note that this early development was followed by an early destruction and abandonment of the town in the 2nd cent. A.D. (*AO* 1972, 272–3). The emphasis in recent years has been on the excavation to the SW of the town of a necropolis of non-tumulus burials of the 6th to 5th cents B.C. (N. Grach, *Tskhaltubo* ii 260–7). The burials, along with the high percentage of hand-made pottery found in the city, and with the rich tumulus burials of the same period, have given rise to the belief that the Scythians, including their nobility, participated in its life. Similar conclusions, based on a wide survey of the Crimea and the Kerch Peninsula, have been reached by Yakovenko, that it was

Scythians, not Kimmerians, Sindoi, or Greeks, who lived in most of the settlements of the interior though perhaps some Tauroi or Sindoi had been taken into the cities. The survey included 340 settlements and 13 burial grounds (I. T. Kruglikova, *Selskoye Khozyaistvo Bospora*, 1975; Yakovenko, *Tskhaltubo ii* 248–59). Some disagreement exists among archaeologists as to this, for Yakovenko refutes a theory that Kimmerian remnants were the basis of this population (Maslennikov, *SA* 1978, 1, 30; *VDI* 1981, 1, 150–62). A survey of the place-names, 39 for 35 towns, on both sides of the Bosporos, has been used to show the strong post-Kimmerian and Sindian population elements (Maslennikov, *Tskhaltubo i* 138–41).

At **Myrmekion** burials of the 1st–2nd cents A.D. were excavated (*AO* 1974, 328), and published in *KSIA* clxviii [1981] 73–6. At **Kytaia** at the Pontos entrance to the Bosporos, 35 km. from Kerch, excavations have been carried out from 1972–80, on the line of the W, S and E defences. Mainly the layers were 4th or 3rd cents B.C. with a destruction in the 3rd–2nd cents. The defensive wall was strengthened from nearly 3 m. wide to nearly 3.5 m. after this (*AO* 1972, 259; *AO* 1980, 285). A tumulus necropolis outside the walls to the NW was excavated in 1977–80; it proved to contain 4th cent. burials and some stone-lined vaults of the 1st cents B.C. to A.D. (*AO* 1977, 359; *AO* 1980, 285).

Tyritakē (Kamysh Burun) has been less excavated recently, but in 1974 some 8,500 sq. m. were excavated in the NW portion of the town. The N and W walls remain for lengths of 17.4 m. (including a tower) and for 20 m. respectively. Material dating from the 6th cent. B.C. to the end of the 4th cent. A.D. was recovered, including 53 amphora stamps of Sinope, Rhodes, Thasos and Herakleia (*AO* 1974, 286). The small town of **Porthmeus** at the NE tip of the Kerch Peninsula was excavated in the 1960s, and again in the 1970s up to 1978. It is situated near the railway crossing between the Kerch and Taman Peninsulas, and in ancient times was at the crossing point over the Bosporos, as its name shows. The township existed from the late 6th cent. B.C., with a re-planning in the late 3rd cent. and lasting down to c. 50 B.C. The W wall, a tower and gates have been uncovered (*AO* 1974, 252–3). Most interesting was the regular planning into twelve blocks, separated by streets, following the major points of the compass. Blocks were 42 m. long by 11 m. wide, except for the two central blocks of the E half, which were 63.5 m. long (*AO* 1978, 333–4). The town seems to have been destroyed in the events surrounding the end of the Mithridatic dynasty.

The Bosporan town of **Ilouraton**, mentioned by Ptolemy as situated NW of Tyritake, is identified with the fort-township at Ivanovka, 18 km. SW of Kerch. Earlier excavations up to 1961 were reported by Kublanov (*KSIA* cxxviii [1971] 76–85), and those of 1966 and 1968 by I. G. Shurgaya (*KSIA* cxxiv [1970] 61–9). Most recent reports are by Shurgaya, Goroncharovsky, Tokhtasyev and Vinogradov (*AO* 1977, 404–5; 1978, 426–7). Goroncharovsky will produce the report for 1982. The town lasted from the 1st to the 3rd cents A.D.; a hoard of 66 billion Bosporan staters of Rheskaporis V was found in one house, giving a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 242–67 for its destruction by the Goths (Frolova, *VDI* 1982, 1, 91–7). The town was divided into regular blocks. The defensive walls had a thickening in the lower rows (an anti-battering measure), being 8.2 m. thick up to a height of 3 m. next to the SE gates. Remains of three houses were found near the crossing of the two main streets. Two rooms in house No. 3 are of interest; one probably stabled a cavalry horse, and an

adjoining one yielded a piece of plaster on which was incised a *cataphract* rider, described by the excavators as being as fine a representation as the *cataphract* from Doura-Europos (information Goroncharovsky and Tokhtasyev). Burials and 'ritual structures' (circular and rectangular) in the necropolis have been published by Kublanov (*KSIA* clx [1979] 90–7).

Another site, some 20 km. W of Kerch, has been subject to a great deal of excavation in the 1960s and 1970s. **Mikhailovka** is a multi-period site, with remains from the 4th cent. B.C. to the 4th cent. A.D. It is a large fortified site, about 1 sq. km. in area, rising 25–30 m. above a river, which surrounds it on three sides. Peters suggests (*AO* 1978, 387–8) that, by the 1st cent. A.D., the fort was a part of the defensive line between the Azov and Black Seas, which was mentioned by Strabo in his *Geographia* (vii 4.3). He also suggests that earlier, towards the end of the 4th cent. B.C., it had been the scene of the battle, which saw the defeat of Eumelos and Ariphermes. It took place by a river, and under a 'royal fortress', the victor being Satyros II (Diod. Sic. xx 22.23). The site would then be where Satyros died in a subsequent siege, and where Eumelos settled some immigrants from Kallatis, on the Rumanian coast of the Black Sea (Diod. Sic. xx 25.3; *AO* 1980, 302).

Tanais (Nedvigovka) at the mouth of the Don, and its seemingly less formally organized predecessor at Elizavetovskoye, some 17 km. to the SE on an island in the delta, have both been the object of almost annual excavation for many years (**Fig. 19**). Brief reports have appeared regularly in *AO* concerning both the town areas and the necropoleis, but a series of monographs concerning Tanais has also appeared – *Antichnye Drevnosti Podonya – Priazov'ya*, 1969 = *MIA* cliv; D. B. Shelov, *Tanais i Nizhny Don v III–I vekakh do n.e.*, 1970; *Tanais i Nizhny Don v pervye veka nashei ery*, 1972. These last two give a connected account of Tanais (the site at Nedvigovka) from its beginnings in the first quarter of the 3rd cent. B.C. to the destruction by the Goths in the mid 3rd cent. A.D., with a brief reoccupation from c. 350–400 (red-glazed ware, *KSIA* clviii [1981] 43–7). Shelov also discusses separately the date of first foundation of Tanais. 'West slope' ware, coins of the early 3rd cent. B.C. and amphorae, including a large number of Rhodian ones, all point to the same period (*Sbornik Zhebelyov* 300–9). An extensive study by Shelov of the amphorae imported into Tanais in the 3rd and 2nd cents B.C. shows a pattern, repeated in Phanagoria on the Asiatic side of the Bosporos, rather than at Pantikapaion. Of 609 amphora stamps, 530 were Rhodian, 12 Knidian, 14 Koan; only 32 were of Sinope and 5 of Khersonesos (Shelov, *Keramicheskiye Kleima iz Tanaisa III–I vekov do n.e.*, 1975). The fact that there were no Herakleiot stamps is probably an indicator that the stamping of Herakleia's amphorae was being phased out in the early 3rd cent. B.C. Excavations in the necropolis between 1961 and 1971 are published by T. M. Arsenyeva (*Nekropol Tanaisa*, 1977). She notices a gradual 'Sarmatisation' of burial practice during the Hellenistic period, with a second wave in the 2nd cent. A.D. 'Chernyakov' cultural influences are referred to in the last period, the later 4th and early 5th cents A.D. The activity of the museum-park in consolidation and display at Tanais is summarised by Arsenyeva and Kazakova (*SA* 1982, 2, 292–7).

The site at **Elizavetovskoye**, and the adjacent tumuli, gives an impression of a mixed population. Shelov (*Tanais i Nizhny Don*... [1970] 69) accepted an idea, found already in Minns (*Scythians and Greeks*, 1913), that it is to be identified with Alōpekia, a 'settlement of mixed people' (Strabo xi 2.3) on an island in front of the R. Tanais at a distance of 100 stades.

DON DELTA IN ANCIENT TIMES

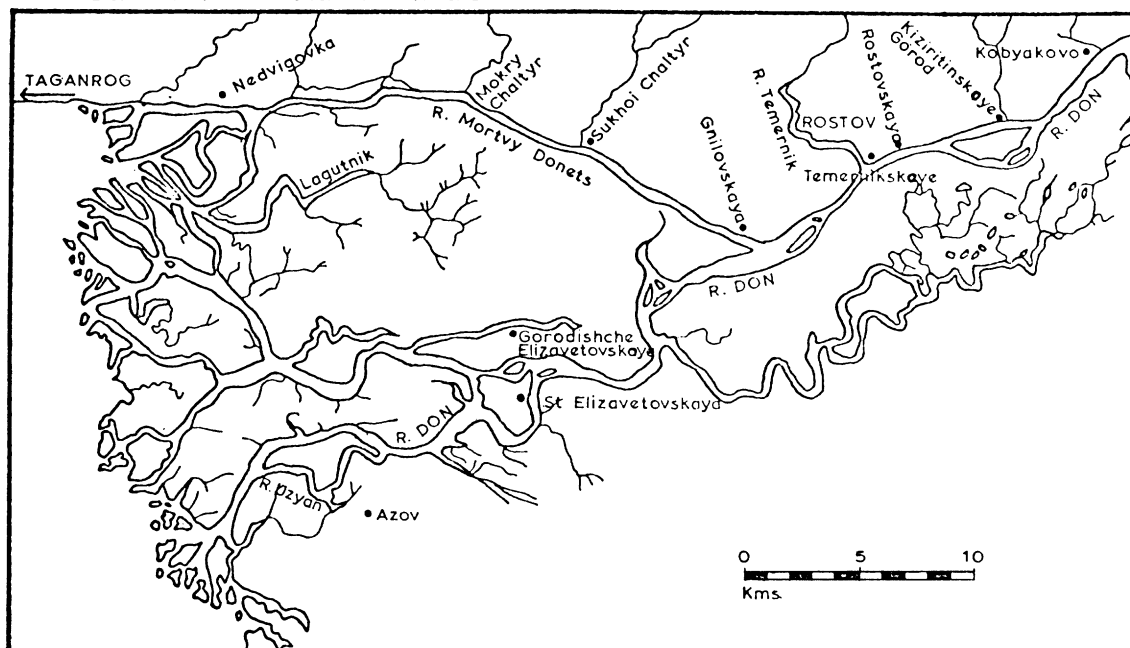


Fig. 19

Brashinsky, who excavated at Elizavetovskoye from 1966–78, was more ambivalent in his approach to the identification, accepting it in 1973 (*KSIA* cxxx 54–61), but seeming to prefer to call it an ‘important trading settlement’, such as Strabo describes Tanais itself in his own time, ‘a market common to the European and Asiatic nomads, and to men sailing up the Lake Maiōtis from Bosphoros’. Perhaps the *katoikia migadōn anthrōpōn* at Elizavetovskoye was simply the remains of a former flourishing settlement, which survived after the foundation of Tanais. The dates of the township and burial ground seem to chime with this. Brashinsky sees them as commencing c. 475 B.C. and going on to the end of the 4th, or early 3rd cent. (*Tskhaltubo* ii 84–92; *Grechesky Keramichesky Import na Nizhnem Donu v. V–III vekakh do n.e.* [1980] 99–101). Huge numbers of Thasian and Herakleiot amphorae were imported, but *rf pelikai*, *skyphoi*, and large amounts of *bg ware* are found. Some Chiot swollen-necked amphorae and late *bf kylikes* allow a starting date in the early 5th cent. A small settlement at Dugino, 7 km. to the NW, has the same pattern of occupation from the 5th to 3rd cents B.C. (*AO* 1972, 115; *AO* 1974, 99). Trade reached up far inland to the middle reaches of the Don, where many Greek objects of the 5th–3rd centuries have been found (area of the Boudinoi?). An interesting find was the cache of unfinished drinking horns from Elizavetovskoye town (*AO* 1972, 115), and more recently the excavation of a substantial stores-building of c. 350–early 3rd cent. B.C. This contained, in addition to numerous amphorae, one (unique in the Black Sea area) of ‘Punic’ type, a large number of glass beads, and ‘Phoenician’ type glass bearded head amulets (*AO* 1979, 99–100; 1980, 97–8). Brashinsky notes the rarities among the amphorae – Samian of the 5th cent. B.C., Corinthian and Kolkhian (*Grechesky Import* . . . 15, 29–30, 32).

In the years between 1945 and 1965 there grew up an idea that near **Taganrog** (but now underwater through erosion or rise in the water level) was a Greek *emporion*, represented now by some late archaic pottery only (V. Lunin, *Taganrog*

Krayevedcheskiye Zapiski i [1957] 95; V. D. Blavatsky, *SA* 1961, 4, 148 ff; V. F. Gaidukevich, *Problemy Sotsialno-Ekonomicheskoi Istorii Drevnevo Mira* [1963] 292–301). If it were an *emporion* one would expect numerous contemporaneous native villages with which the Greeks traded, but there is no sign of these in the late 6th or early 5th cents B.C. Brashinsky, unlike Shelov (*KSIA* cxxx [1970] 96) comes out against this idea, in favour of one that the short-lived Taganrog settlement was a fishing settlement, perhaps the ‘Klazomenian Look-Outs’ mentioned by Strabo (xi 2.4) (*Tskhaltubo* ii 84–7). Brashinsky believes that the population on the lower Don down to the 6th–5th cent. was largely Scythian; an interesting female burial with a Scythian type of mirror appears to illustrate this, just as an armed female of the mid 5th cent. is taken to epitomise the Sarmatian advance (*KSIA* cxxxiii [1973] 54–60).

Sarmatian burials from this area usually contain much later material. A good example is the rich burial of the 1st cent. B.C.–1st A.D. found in 1962 only 2 km. from where the ‘Novocherkassk Treasure’ was found in 1864. Among the contents were eight Sarmatian gold *phalerae* and six silver medallion dishes in classical style (**Fig. 20**) (Kaposhina, *Antiquity* xxxvii [1963] 256–7; *Sbornik Zhebel'yov* 163–71).

The Taman Peninsula and the Lower Kuban Area. The region to the E or ‘Asiatic’ side of the Kimmerian Bosphoros was settled by Maeotian tribes, Sindoi and by Dandarioi to the E of the mouth of the Kuban (Antikites) along the Sea of Azov. Six major Hellenic or mixed settlements, as well as some townships and necropoleis of the Sindoi have been excavated and published recently. L. I. Korovina has published the results of excavations in the little town and necropolis of **Tyrambe**, some 20 km. E of Phanagoria, and the most north-easterly Bosphoran post along the Sea of Azov (*SGMII* iv [1968] 55–84). Overall 163 burials were excavated, 22 of the 6th–5th cents B.C., the latest of the 3rd cent. A.D.

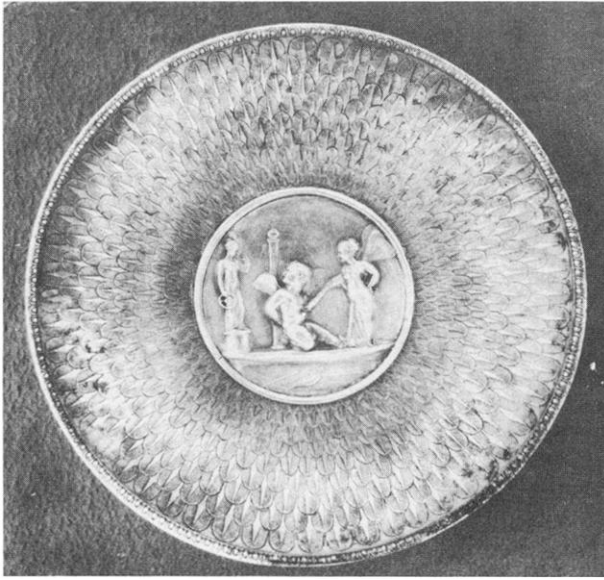


Fig. 20

There was a strong native element among the inhabitants, and Korovina identifies these with the Dandarioi. One fabric of pottery found was, seemingly, from Phanagoria, and another from a different, still unidentified, centre on the Taman Peninsula (*Tskhaltubo* ii 267–72). In the necropolis the earliest burials have produced some Attic bf kylikes (on ring foot), and some miniature Corinthian skyphoi – pottery generally of the late 6th and early 5th cents B.C.

At **Kepoi** excavations were carried out between 1957 and 1973. This was a small colony of the Milesians, until merged with the Bosphoran state, perhaps c. 480 B.C. Some striking finds have been made here of the early period, including the small head of an archaic kouros (*SA* 1962, 2, 134–41). The results of excavation were summarized by N. I. Sokolsky *Acta Antiqua Philippopolitana* [Sofia, 1963] 11–19). In 1973 an earlier deposit of pottery than any yet known from the site was found in a hollow S of an archaic house found in 1971. Here were found fragments of rosette bowls, lotus bowls, Chiot chalices, one with the representation of a bull's head, and one with a siren as exterior decoration. There were also several flat-bottomed amphorae, one of which had decoration in the form of a goat, running with head turned back, dating to c. 600–575 B.C., and what is described as an 'urn' of reddish clay with concentric circle ornament. Nikolayeva dates the foundation of Kepoi to the first third of the 6th cent. B.C. on the strength of these finds (*Tskhaltubo* i 142–4). Another major find from Sokolsky's excavations was the 2nd cent. B.C. temple of Aphrodite which had been destroyed by the 1st cent. B.C. (*SA* 1964, 4, 115). But he has shown that the cult of Aphrodite here dates from much earlier. The base of a kylix of late 6th or early 5th cent. date found in 1970 has on it a graffito to Aphrodite (*VDI* 1973, 4, 88–9). Aphrodite also figured in an inscription dedicated in the time of Spartokos II, found in 1963 (Belova, *VDI*, 1970, 2, 65–72).

At **Za Rodinu**, 1.5 km. from the sea of Azov, an extraordinary building complex was excavated between 1970 and 1973 by N. I. Sokolsky. A sanctuary, **Apatouron**, was found (one of three known of in the area) dating from the early 3rd cent. B.C. into the 2nd cent. It consisted of a colonnaded courtyard and a round tholos structure (**Fig. 21**). When this

had been destroyed, perhaps in a Sarmatian raid, the area was later occupied by the fortified residence of a Hellenised Sarmatian chief, named Chrysaliskos (c. 47–17 B.C.). Later it was downgraded into being just another of the forts of Phantalovsky Island. It seems to have been finally destroyed in the early 2nd cent. A.D., under Sauromates II (N. I. Sokolsky, *Tamansky Tholos i Residentsia Chrysaliska*, 1976). Further elements of the 3rd to 2nd cent. complex were found in 1976–78, including a peristyle building of more modest aspect. These structures are thought to be the subsidiary buildings, servicing a temple economy, such as are found mentioned in Bosphoran inscriptions of a later date (*AO* 1976, 122; 1977, 143–4; *Tskhaltubo* iii 90–1).

Hermonassa (Tamansk), on the N shore of the most S part of the Taman Peninsula, is another site where the early levels are of the greatest interest. I. B. Zeyest already has drawn

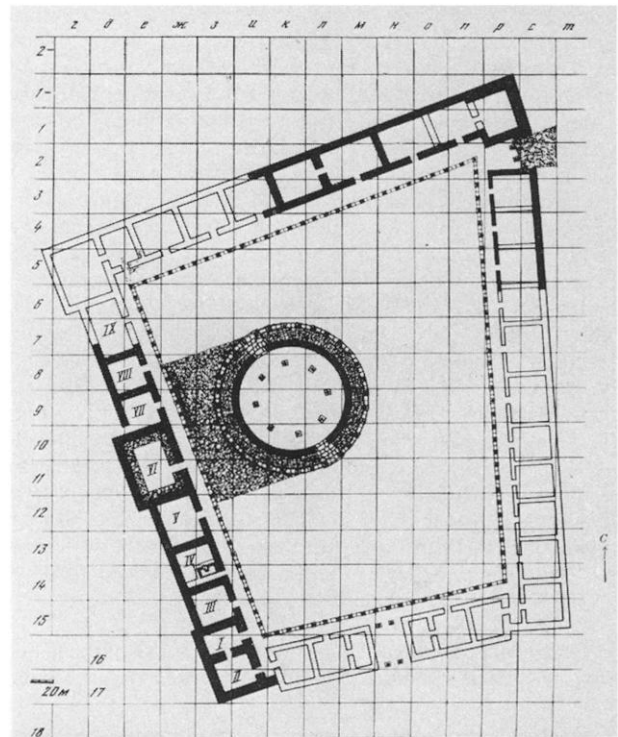


Fig. 21

attention to the thickness of the archaic levels at Hermonassa (*Sbornik Zhebelyov* 144–8). She showed the early importance of this site, from the early 6th cent. down to the 5th, when a change in building layout occurred. There was, perhaps, less prosperity here when the Spartokids came to power on the Bosphoros c. 438 B.C. (*SA* 1974, 4, 85 ff.). Blavatsky, Sokolsky and others have all pointed up the relative early importance of the Gulf of Taman, and the ancient opening of the R. Kuban into it. Hermonassa, Kepoi and Phanagoria were all on this gulf, though the two latter were nearer its inner, eastern, recess. Since 1976 excavations at Tamansk have been renewed by Korovina. In 1978 more archaic material was found – fragments of Chiot chalices, ring vases, Chiot amphorae (*AO* 1978, 131–2). But the main finds were buildings of the 4th and 3rd cents B.C. – a *prytaneion* building, *prostas* in plan, and a much later winery, of the 3rd to 4th cents A.D. (*AO*

1979, 113–14). Outstanding finds made in the upper section of the town in 1976 were a large fragment of a Panathenaic amphora (Athena plus shield), and two measures, bearing the name of an *agoranomos* – Apollodoros (AO 1976, 105). In the N sector a large public building, and an altar covered in bird-skeletons came to light (AO 1980, 105–6). Early silver coins of the Bosphoros, found on the Taman peninsula, are published by Rozov (SA 1983, 2, 109–116).

Phanagoria, a foundation from Teios of the 540s B.C., eventually became the capital of the E half of the Bosporan kingdom. Some tidying-up publication of earlier finds was done in 1968. The rf pottery from excavations in 1936–38 was published by Loseva (SGMII iv 94–9). More recently excavations have been carried out there by Kobylina (1972–74) and then by a large team of archaeologists, especially in 1976–78. The late archaic period is well represented with four houses uncovered on the upper plateau in 1975–77, the earliest being of c. 550 B.C. (AO 1976, 86; 1977, 104). An exceptional find, made in 1976, was a fragmentary proxeny decree, found in the territory of the city, which mentions the right of *enktesis*, as well as *politeia* (AO 1976, 86). In 1972–74 Kobylina found a large building of the 5th to 4th cents B.C., which is said to be a temple; architectural detail, e.g. egg-and-dart moulding, was found (AO 1972, 129; 1974, 111). Sculpture has been found in some profusion – a headless, draped, statue, of the 2nd–1st cent. B.C. (AO 1974, 111), and a fragment of a large cult dish, on which is represented Aphrodite in a tall headdress. A gold stater of Lysimakhos was also found – a highly unusual circumstance in excavations (AO 1974, 112). Three articles on coins, inscriptions and sculpture from Phanagoria help to round out the information on this city. N. A. Frolova publishes the coin finds of 1962–75 (VDI 1981, 100–13); Belova discusses the recent finds of inscriptions (VDI 1977, 3, 105–17), and Sokolov discusses the stone reliefs of ‘archaistic style’, which were found near Phanagoria in 1970, and are dated by him to c. 200–150 B.C. (VDI 1975, 3) (Fig. 22). It may be worth adding that much of the lower towns of both Phanagoria and Kepoi is under the waters of the gulf. The early layers of Phanagoria, excavated 1959–72, are discussed by Kobylina (SA 1983, 2, 51–61).

Gorgippia (modern Anapa) was the most SE of the major towns of the Bosporan Kingdom. It probably took its name



Fig. 22

from Gorgippos, one of the Spartokid family, who may have been its governor. Its earlier name is thought to have been Sindikē, or Sindikos Limēn. Excavations here in the 1960s were by Kruglikova (KSIA cviii [1966]), and Tsvetayeva (KSIA cxvi [1969]). Kruglikova has written a study of the position of Gorgippia in the 4th to 2nd cents B.C., during which time it belonged to the archons of Bosphoros (VDI 1971, 1, 89–100). A proxeny decree from Anapa was published by Boltunova (VDI 1964, 3, 136–49), leading to dispute on two points, whether there was a Seleukos in the Spartokid family tree, and whether joint rule was the norm in the dynasty from the start (N. Grach, *Sbornik Zhebelyov*, 108–114). Kruglikova has also published coin finds from Gorgippia, 1960–66, nearly 240 coins from the 4th cent. B.C. down to Rheskuporis III, A.D. 233–4 (*Num. i Epigr.* viii [1970] 27–47).

Excavations within Anapa have been carried out by Tsvetayeva, Kruglikova, *et al.* in the period. In 1972–76, in sections ‘Town’ and ‘Town II’, buildings dating from the 4th cent. B.C. to the 3rd cent. A.D. were found, in one area retaining the same plan throughout (AO 1972, 108). Unusually for Anapa a 5th-cent. burial was found in 1979, and in the following year several similar ones turned up, chiefly in the ‘Gorgippia Park’ area (AO 1979, 91–2; 1980, 94–5). Some 67 burials were excavated in the centre of Gorgippia necropolis, predominantly dating from the 4th cent. B.C. to the 2nd A.D. An interesting find of 1979 was a bronze statuette of Poseidon. Two years earlier, a fine, large bg oinochoe, with gilt decoration in the form of two draped figures and ivy leaves, dating to the 4th cent. B.C., was found (AO 1977, 138–9).

In the region around Anapa some eighty settlements and burial grounds have been plotted, mostly of the 4th and 3rd cents B.C. (AO 1974, 94–5; Salov, KSIA clx [1979] 98–102 with map). Five coin hoards, spanning the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 4th A.D. are discussed by Nesterenko (KSIA clxviii [1981] 85–7). The necropolis of the native Sindoi at ‘Rassvyet’, 12 km. NE of Anapa, was excavated between 1965 and 1972, and 1975 and 1977. About 145 burials of the period c. 550 B.C. to 250 B.C. were excavated. Of pottery among the grave goods, hand-made wares predominated. Burials containing weapons were common (AO 1972, 131–2). The excavators conclude that ‘Hellenization’ was marked, though maybe not deep, and different only in degree from that among the more remote Maeotae (*Tskhaltubo* i 101–4). In a series of articles published shortly before his death Sokolsky discussed the distinctive types of stone funerary sculpture produced by the Sindoi, in particular a series of draped half-figures and reliefs, dating from the 4th cent. B.C. to the 1st or 2nd A.D. (*Kultura Antichnovo Mira* [1966] 243–57; *Antichnoye Obschestvo* [1967] 193–204; *Sbornik Pharmakovskiy* 187–98). The Sindian origin of these monuments, which come mostly from Phanagoria or Gorgippia, seems certain (*Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques* [Paris, 1965] 423–39).

Considerable debate has arisen concerning the nature of the Sindoi, their level of social development and even their race. They are usually said to have been North Caucasian (KSIA xcvi [1964] 1ff.), but recently Trubachev has suggested that they were a portion of the same people who settled in Sind in Pakistan (*Voprosy Yazykoznaniya* 1976, 4, 39 ff.), and were of Indo-Iranian stock. On the question of their level of organisation there has been a recent move away from the tendency to regard the Sindoi as having possessed a developed state even before their incorporation in Bosphoros. Both Ju. Krushkol and D. Shelov now argue against positions which they had previously taken up (Krushkol, *Drevnyaya Sindika* [1971];

Hellenische Poleis ii [1974] 608–47; Shelov, *Monetnoye Dyelo Bospora* [1956] 43 ff.). They argue plausibly that the Sindoi were merely the nearest and most Hellenized of the Maetian peoples, and not an organized state. They now suggest that the coinage of the Sindoi belonged to the Greek settlement Sindikē or Sindikos Limēn, the precursor of Gorgippia (Krushkol, *Tskhaltubo* i 113–18; Shelov, *Tskhaltubo* ii 232–47 = *Thracia Pontica* i 31–9). Grach had already some years previously, in publishing a coin found at Myrmekion, argued that the issuing body was Sindikos Limēn and not the tribe (VDI 1972, 3, 133). But the very name is unusual for a polis ('Sindian Harbour'). Perhaps there was an immigrant community in the harbour which was dependent on the Sindoi in the 5th cent., not being sufficient in numbers to be a polis. No 6th–5th cent. Greek town has yet been found at Anapa. On the other hand Greek die-cutters could have worked for a developing kingdom of the Sindoi. One does not need to overestimate the level of 'state-hood' needed to commission coinage, since the southern Thracians put out prolific issues of large coins from a much earlier period (for Sindian coinage, see Shelov, *Coinage of the Bosporus* (BAR Supp. series xlvii [1978] 27–32). Finally on the Sindoi, a useful collection of the literary evidence is given by Krushkol (*Studien zur Geschichte und Philosophie des Altertums*, ed. J. Harmatta [1968] 293–8).

GREEK CITIES & PEOPLES OF THE HINTERLAND OF THE EAST COAST OF THE BLACK SEA

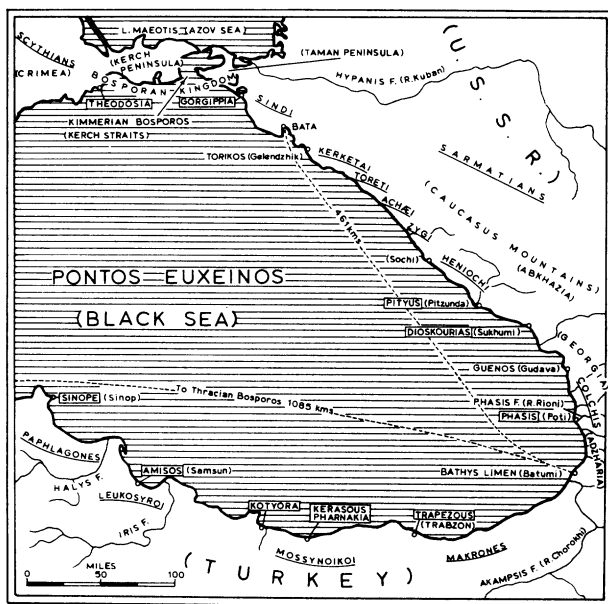


Fig. 23

Until the last decade, the north Caucasian coast was almost an archaeological blank for the Greek and Roman periods (Fig. 23). There appear to have been two areas of coastal settlement – one around Novorossiisk, and one near Gelendzhik (SA 1970, 1, 130 ff.). The more northerly, in Novorossiisk Bay is identified as the ancient **Bata**, with a port area inside the bay and a village on the right bank of the R. Tsemes. A big surprise is the amount of imported Attic bf and rf pottery from there, dating to c. 450–300 B.C. (VDI 1976, 1, 107–16). N. A. Onaiko is the excavator here. She has also given a general account of this settlement in the subsequent Hellenistic period in an article concerned with the SE boundaries of the

Bosporan Kingdom (*Tskhaltubo* iii 76–81). Near Gelendzhik, at Tonky Mys, was found a large rectangular building, half-eroded by the sea, which has risen by some 4 m. in this area relative to the coast. This structure started in the 6th cent. B.C.; among the pottery was E Greek ware of the later 6th cent. along with 'Proto-Thasian' and Chiot amphorae. It is thought to have been destroyed by fire in the first half of the 5th cent. B.C. (AO 1972, 143–4; 1974, 122–4; KSIA cxlv [1976] 35 ff.). Onaiko identifies it as the ancient **Torikos**, and the headland to be the Cape of the Toretai (N. A. Onaiko, *Arkhaichesky Torik – Antichny Gorod na Severo – Vostokye Ponta*, 1980). In addition there have been excavations at a number of sites near Novorossiisk (Mykhako), or to its north (at Tsem dolina, and Shirokaya Balka). Mykhako dates to the late 6th and 5th cents B.C., Tsem dolina from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. A.D., and Shirokaya Balka from Roman on to Byzantine times (AO 1979, 121–2; 1980, 114). The prize find at Mykhako was a Bosporan gold stater of Kotys (A.D. 49), with Claudius on the obverse and Britannicus on the reverse. Onaiko suggests that this series of fortified agricultural settlements was designed to hold down the area from Anapa to Novorossiisk, and that Rayevskoye inland was also an important outpost for the Bosporan Kingdom. Many of the series, including Vladimirovka, Tsem dolina and the rich 'villa' at Shirokaya Balka, were destroyed, so Onaiko suggests, in the disturbances accompanying the war between Kotys and Mithridates VIII.

Before turning to the E coast of the Black Sea and Kolchis some more general books on ancient art in the area should be mentioned: G. Sokolov, *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast* (1974) and M. M. Kobylina, *Antichnaya Skulptura Severnogo Prichernomor'ya* [Moscow, 1972] which deals in the main with sculpture in the round and a very few reliefs. There is also a monograph on ancient carving in wood from the region, by N. Sokolsky, *Derevo-Obrabatyvayushchee Remeslo* (MLA clxxviii [1971]), and a second on wooden sarcophagi (N. Sokolsky, *Derevyannye Sarkofagi* [1969]).

Kolkhis (Abkhazia and Western Georgia). The W boundary of Kolkhis was the E shore of the Black Sea, a coast stretching from the R. Bzyb in the N to the Chorokh in the S. A little to the N of Kolkhis proper were Pityous (Pitzunda) and Dioskourias (Sukhumi) in the territory of the Heniokhoi. Thereafter, from N to S lay Gyenos at Ochamchire, Phasis or those settlements, near its old opening into the sea, that have been found (at Simagre, Chaladidi, Sarkokio). South of Phasis lay the probably Greek settlement at Pichvnari, 10 km. N of Kobuleti, of which the ancient name is not known, and finally Bathys Limen (Batumi) and Apsaros (Gonio). The literary references to the cities on this coast have been collected and discussed by Lordkipanidze (*Tskhaltubo* i 187–91) and by Kauhishvili (*Tskhaltubo* i 294–304). This has proved a necessary, though not sufficient, step in the current debate as to whether these coastal towns were *poleis*, or trading marts dependent on the Kolkhian state, the very existence of which in the 6th to 3rd cents B.C. is the subject of lively debate.

The most northerly site has, in spite of its early-looking name, **Pityous** (Pitzunda, Bichvint), produced some fine Byzantine churches with mosaics, but nothing so far of the ancient period, except for a Roman fort and extra-mural settlement of the 1st to 6th cents A.D. The late Roman layers contained a number of small bronze coins of Trapezous, and Roman issues of Constantine and his family. Destruction layers of the 3rd, 4th and 6th cents were detected (AO 1976, 462; 1977, 484; 1978, 500).

Dioskourias was the present-day **Sukhumi**, and probably the same site (at a higher level) was re-founded in Roman times as **Sebastopolis**. Near the mouth of the small river Besletka a number of finds have been made, including (7 m. from the shore) a by now well-known grave stele of the late 5th cent. B.C., but also amphorae, a sarcophagus and coins. It is supposed that the necropolis lay thereabouts, underwater (Pachulia, *ILN* April 25, 1964, Arch. No. 2181).

Remains of towers and curtain walls of Roman Sebastopolis have been found near Sukhumi fort, also underwater. On land, the lowest levels which archaeologists have so far reached without going below the water table are of the 1st and 2nd cents A.D. Hence no layers of Classical or Hellenistic date at Dioskourias are known, though isolated objects are (O. Lordkipanidze, *Drevnyaya Kolkhida* [1979] 133–43). There is dispute as to whether Dioskourias was a *polis* of a type requiring land allotment and possessing its own civic organization and manufacturing industry. Boltunova argues that it, as well as Phasis, were *poleis* in the fullest sense of the word (*Tskhaltubo* i 268–9). The discovery of amphora handles stamped 'Dioskou', and dating to the Hellenistic period, seems to point to some civic organization by then (*SA* 1977, 2, 165). A terracotta statuette of Demeter, from near where the stele was found, gives another pointer to where the necropolis lies (*Tskhaltubo* i 342).

Around Sukhumi were a number of north Kolkhian settlements, perhaps of the Heniokhoi dating from the *EIA* onwards. There was not much Greek import there before the mid 5th cent. B.C., though two early 5th cent. Chiot amphorae come from the area. At Krasny Mayak, Guadikha, Sukhums-kaya Gora, and at a settlement near Sukhumi railway station, Greek imported pottery is noted in increasing quantity in the mid to late 5th cent. B.C. (*Tskhaltubo* i 317–21; 341–2). Recently the nearby settlement at Eshera has produced archaic pottery, including rosette bowls. Attic bf and rf ware. The imported pottery, taken all together, makes up some 10% of the total (*AO* 1978, 509). This seems to be a case of a community exceptionally interested in obtaining Greek objects,

rather than a minor Greek colony. The possibility of an *apoikia* at Dioskourias cannot be ruled out even for the 6th cent. By the late 5th cent. its influence can be traced in the nearby native settlements, though the contemporary town is still not in evidence. A 6th-cent. burial from near Sukhumi is published by Shamba (*KSIA* clxxiv [1983] 33–7).

Gyenos (Ochamchire) was almost totally ignored by the ancient sources, except by Ps.-Skylax, who calls it a 'Greek city'. The place may also be Mela's Cynus (vi 13.14), in which case its status as an anciently known and named town is assured (Lordkipanidze, *Drevnyaya Kolkhida* 131–2). Pottery of the 5th to 4th cents from Ochamchire has recently been said to be predominantly Greek (Voronov, *SA* 1976, 4, 42–55). It now appears that this was due to the selective removal of imported pottery from the site to Ochamchire Museum. A settlement mound, excavated in 1977–78, seems to show the Kolkhian population on the eve of Greek contact. It was situated at the mouth of the nearby R. Mokva (*AO* 1977, 474; Kvirkvelia, *Tskhaltubo* ii 341–7).

The city of **Phasis** is to be traced only by its activity in trade within the valley of the lower Rioni. This is rather because of the silting caused by the river than because of erosion or rise in the sea level. The area of Patara Poti seems to have been occupied only from the 5th cent. A.D. One has to go upstream to some 18 km. E of Poti to find settlements of the 6th to 2nd cents B.C. The most interesting are the large timber buildings on a mound at Simagre, on the left bank of the Rioni (**Fig. 24**). Attic bf pottery, including Little Master cups, as well as Chiot amphorae and 'Ps.-Samian' amphorae were found in layers II–III. These structures, which are thought to have been not far from the missing city, were destroyed c. 450 B.C. (Mikeladze, *KSIA* cli [1977] 12–23). At Simagre there was also a group (9 houses excavated) of buildings of the 5th and 4th cents followed by others of the 3rd and 2nd cents. At Poti itself the earliest settlement so far known is of the 2nd cent. A.D. (*Tskhaltubo* i 294–9).

In the **Rioni valley** Greek imported material of the early



Fig. 24

period is found only at Simagre in any quantity. Further inland certain rich burials of the 5th and 4th cents at **Vani** contained Attic imported goods, and they occur also at **Istkhvisi** (*Tskhaltubo* ii 1981, 292–314). During the Hellenistic period the penetration of Greek painted pottery and amphorae is much greater. As one example Sakanchi, 1 km. from Vani, may be cited, where the settlement flourished most in the second century B.C. A rectangular Greek-style altar here is taken to imply the presence of Greek settlers (*Tskhaltubo* iii 54–5). Higher up-river, at Sairkhe, in the headwaters of the R. Kviril, was found a stone-built temple, a Doric capital of somewhat archaic style being among the finds. It is suggested that Greek workmen may have been used in building it (*Tskhaltubo* i 324).

Much discussion has centred on the Kolkhian coinage. This is closely linked with views on whether the Greek settlement at Phasis was a *polis* (Boltunova, *Tskhaltubo* i 269), an *emporion* (O. Lordkipanidze, *Tskhaltubo* i 202), a city in which the leading part was taken by the pre-existing Kolkhoi (Inadze, *Prichernomorskiye Goroda Drevnei Kolchidy* [1968] 142–58), or one in which Greek settlers took the leading role, and had rights of land-holding etc. (*Tskhaltubo* i 196). The coinage itself has been studied by Boltunova (*VDI* 1973, 4, 92–102), and by G. Dundua (*Tskhaltubo* i 280–3). It seems that the didrachms and the rarer types of small denominations belong to a city mint (probably the missing Phasis), but that the small triobols of type 2, which are found in huge numbers on 4th–2nd cent. Kolkhian sites may well have been struck for use throughout the kingdom or *skeptouchies* of Kolkhis. One advance in this matter is the discovery of a new type of Kolkhian coin at Pichvnary in 1968. Three very small coins (wt. 0.150 gm.; 0.111 gm.; 0.110 gm.: *tetartemoria* or *hemi-tetartemoria*) were found, with the standard human head to r. on the obverse but on the reverse side an unidentified bird (*phasiana ornis?*) (*Tskhaltubo* i 281). Most of the varied types of Kolkhian coins are found near the coast, though the numbers of such coin finds are very small. Nonetheless, it appears that the coinage probably started at Milesian Phasis,



Fig. 25

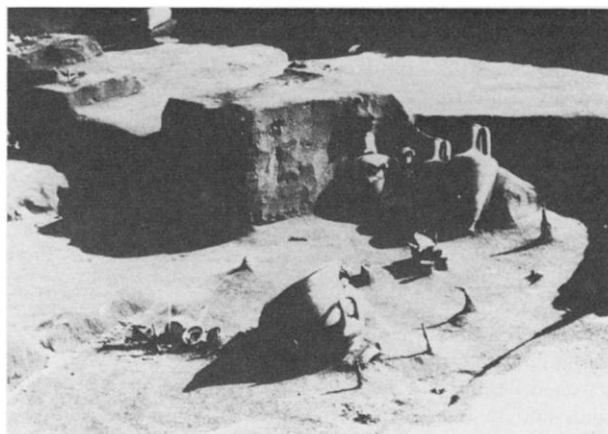


Fig. 26

perhaps in the decades before the sack of Miletos itself in 494 B.C.

By the late 5th cent. and through into the Hellenistic period the Rioni valley was heavily penetrated by Greek culture, as can be traced through Attic pottery, jewellery and metalwork (Matiaschvili, *KSIA* [1977] cli 71–4), and through coin finds of, for instance, Mithridates and his Pontic cities (Dundua and G. A. Lordkipanidze, *Tskhaltubo* iii 30–1). The general theme of Hellenistic import into Kolkhis was treated generally by O. Lordkipanidze (*Sbornik Zhebelyov* 237–8), and the specific topic of the import of Athenian silverware into Vani in the 5th cent. B.C. was discussed also by O. Lordkipanidze (*Sbornik Pharmakovskiy* 143–50). For an up-to-date survey of 'The Graeco-Roman World, and Ancient Georgia' see O. D. Lordkipanidze (*Coll. de L'École Française de Rome* lxxvii [1983] 123–144).

Vani, some 100 km. from the present coast has been the subject of intensive excavation and now extensive publication (O. D. Lordkipanidze, *Vani* i, 1972; ii, 1976; iii, 1978; iv, 1979). Something was said of this Kolkhian centre (perhaps the seat of one of the *skeptoukhoi*) in the last report of 1971–72 and much more in two reports by Lordkipanidze himself in two western journals (*RA* 1971, 259 ff.; *BCH* xcvi [1974] 894 ff.). The town flourished most in the later 4th and 3rd cents B.C., though a few very rich burials of the late 5th and early 4th centuries found in 1969 show a great concentration of wealth in the hands of a few individuals (Figs 25, 26). Vani seems eventually to have been ruined in a double disaster at the time of Pharnakes and Mithridates of Pergamon (49 and 47 B.C.). For Kolkhis generally the effect of Mithridates Eupator's empire around the Pontos has been studied by Shelov (*VDI* 1980, 3, 28–43). Before leaving the centre of Kolkhis for the SE shore of the Black Sea, two general books on the area by O. D. Lordkipanidze should be mentioned, one on the culture of the people (*Kultura Drevnei Kolchidy*, 1972), and one on their history and archaeology (*Drevnyaya Kolchida – Myth i Arkheologia*, 1979). Lordkipanidze's earlier book (*Antichny Mir i Drevnyaya Kolchida VI–II vekakh do n.e.*, 1966), and that by M. P. Inadze (*Prichernomorskiye Goroda Drevnei Kolchidy*, 1968) also deserve mention as dealing with the relations between the coastal Greek or mixed settlements, and the peoples of the interior.

The remaining three townships on the coast of Kolkhis were hardly typical Greek colonies, though some surprisingly early Greek material has been found there. At **Pichvnary**,

some 10 km. N of Kobuleti, by the outlet of the R. Cholok into the sea, a native and what appears to be a separate Greek burial ground has been found. The main date of the Greek presence seems to have been from c. 460 to 340–30 B.C. The Greek pottery includes a rf hydria, a krater, lekythoi, a 'Mendeian' amphora of the 5th cent. and Chiot and Thasian, as well as Herakleiot of the 4th cent. and glass amphoriskoi. The total picture derived from this necropolis is very Hellenic indeed. Excavations of 1965–67 and 1972–75 have been reported on by Kakhidze (*KSIA* cli [1977] 4–12), and there have been further seasons' work in 1980 and 1981. Some 150 native burials were excavated, 74 Greek and 84 Hellenized native, within the 4th and 3rd cents B.C. The interpretation of the Pichvnari necropolis is that a group of Athenians were attracted here by the native skills in working the local iron-sands and in mining in the coastal hill country. Kakhidze points to the cases of Amisos and Nymphaion, where some Athenian settlers are attested (*Tskhaltubo* i 314–15), and observes that coins of Amisos and Nymphaion have been found at Pichvnari, and that Kolkhian pithoi have been found at Nymphaion on the Bosporos.

In the Hellenistic period the Pichvnari settlement flourished greatly, reaching some 60 to 70 hectares. Trading contacts continued with Athens and Herakleia, but increasingly with Sinope. Local potters were making tiles and amphorae imitating Sinopian models (Brashinsky, 'Sinopa i Kolkhida', *Voprosy Drevnei Istorii* [1973] 186–7; Kakhutaishvili i Kakhidze, *Tskhaltubo* iii 96). The link with the West by sea as early as the 5th cent. B.C. is stressed also by the find at Pichvnari (published in 1974) of imported coins consisting of two Kyzikenes and an eagle-head type drachma of Sinope (Kakhidze, *VDI* 1974, 3, 88–92). Sinope's strength by sea in the period after the fall of Athens, but undoubtedly also in the decades preceding that, is well documented in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (v II. 4–6).

At **Bathys Limen (Batumi)** there was a Kolkhian settlement, within the present-day fort precinct. It consisted of timber buildings on a defensive mound. This settlement of the 8th and 7th cents B.C. was followed by a layer of the early 6th cent. which contained some E Greek pottery, including white-slipped Chiot amphorae (*Voprosy Istorii Narodov Kavkaza* [1966] 69–72; *Tskhaltubo* i 312). A small amount of early pottery has also been found at Tsikhisdziri. At **Apsaros (Gonio)** a survey was done in 1961 on the left bank of the R. Chorokh, 8 km. S of Batumi. Some Sinopian amphorae are noted from here, and a Kolkhian amphora of the 3rd or 2nd cent. B.C. was found in 1966 (Chkaidze, *Tskhaltubo* iii 100). After the failure of Pichvnari in the later Hellenistic period Apsaros-Gonio seems to have developed, being of importance on the Roman *limes* (*Tskhaltubo* i 292–4). By the 6th cent. A.D. the chief point in the area was Petra-Tsikhisdziri. The original attraction to these sites on the SE Georgian coast, it is argued, were the iron-sands and mines, which were already worked in the pre-contact period (*Tskhaltubo* i 334–9).

Before leaving the Soviet Union, a few recent books and articles on those major barbarian peoples, the **Kimmerians** and **Scythians**, should be mentioned. Two books have recently discussed the relations between these two peoples, M. I. Artamonov, *Kimmeriitsy i Skythy* (Leningrad, 1974), and A. I. Terenozhkin, *Kimmeriitsy* (Kiev, 1976). Articles by Chernyakov and Lyapushkin have appeared on the theme in *Skythy i Sarmaty* (Kiev, 1977: 29–36, 37–9). Leskov discusses the problem of Kimmerians, identifying them with the Late Subnaya (Timber-Frame) culture of the 9th to early 8th

cents B.C. (*Kurgany, Nakhodka, Problemy* [1981] 75–106). Within the past ten years or so a great deal has been done between the Danube and Dniestr, in particular to detect the presence of Northern Thracians within the NW of the Black Sea area (T. D. Zlatkovskaya and A. I. Melyukova, *Drevniye Thrakiitsy v Severnom Prichernomor'e*, 1969). The Kimmerians themselves are thought to have been Thracian by some, because of their association by Strabo with the Thracian Treres. Recently, it has been denied that there was any movement of Kimmerians through Thrace in the 8th cent. B.C. (Jordanov, *Thracia Pontica* i 183–8). The other route, through the Caucasus, along which Herodotus says they were followed by the Scythians, is much better attested (Hdt. i 15; iv 11–12). A silver bowl found at Ünye, E of Sinope on the N coast of Turkey is supposed to be Kimmerian (E. Akurgal, *Antike Kunst* i [1967] 328), because of its connections in style and content with Caucasian metalwork, Phrygian pottery and certain motifs in Scythian art.

For the Scythians the bibliographical list is very long. General works are: B. N. Grakov, *Skythy* (1971); L. A. Yelnitsky, *Skythia Euraziskikh Stepei* (Novosibirsk, 1977); M. I. Artamonov, *Kimmeriitsy i Skythy* (Leningrad, 1974). Social structure is studied by A. I. Terenozhkin (*Skythy i Sarmaty*, 1977, 3–28), as is the specific question of the nature of slavery among the Scyths by A. M. Khazanov (*VDI* 1972, 1). He has also produced a social history of the Scythians (*Sotsialnaya Istoria Skythov*, Moscow, 1975). A modern study of Herodotus' understanding of Scythia (Bk. iv *Skythikos Logos*) appeared in 1979 (Rybakov, *Gerodotovaya Skythia*). Not unnaturally, the magnificent finds of Scythian treasure in Haimanova Mogila in 1969–70 (*AR* 1971–72, 59), and in Tolstaya Mogila in 1971 (*ILN* 1971, Arch. No. 2366), to the NE of Solokha and W of Chertomlyk respectively, on either side of the great bend in the Dniepr, have spurred on new publications on the Scythians. Among these are I. B. Brashinsky's *V Poiskakh Skythskikh Sokrovysch* (Leningrad, 1979), and two books by A. M. Leskov, *Die Skythische Kurgan – Antike Welt*, Sondernummer, 1974, and *Kurgany: Nakhodka, Problemy* (Leningrad, 1981) esp. 100–63. A new guide-book has been issued to the Hermitage Scythian Collection under the joint authorship of J. V. Domansky, L. K. Galanina and G. I. Smirnova (*Skythy, Iskustvo*, 1981). Two individual points of identification have, if generally accepted, wider implications for the study of Scythian geography and politics. One is the identification of **Belskoye**, in the wooded steppe area N of Poltava, with the **Gelōnos** of Herodotus, in the lands of the Boudinoi, to which Greeks had migrated from the coastal *emporion* (Kuzmina, *Skythy i Sarmaty* [1977] 73–95). Excavations take place there annually, and the name Gelonos appears to have settled upon the site, which is of the 7th to 3rd cents B.C. (*AO* 1979, 353; 1980, 324); it has certainly produced a great deal of imported Greek pottery (Onaiko, *Antichny Import* . . . 38–45, fig. 3–7). The second 'identification' is of a different kind. Vinogradov writes on the 'ring of Skyles', an object found 10 km. S of Istros in the 1930s (*SA* 1980, 3, 92–109). One recalls that Skyles, in Herodotus' tale, was the son of a woman of Istros, who died because of his Hellenising tendencies displayed at Olbia. Vinogradov's is a bold attempt to reconstruct the 5th cent. political and dynastic history of Scythia, in particular its relations with the powerful Odrysian kingdom S of the Danube. Rich finds of Scythian goldwork continue to be found in burial mounds from the Azov Sea coast (*AO* 1978, 419) to the middle Dniepr (*AO* 1979, 317–19), where frontal ornaments for horses, and the richly decorated covering for a scabbard were found.

SINOPE (MODERN SINOP)

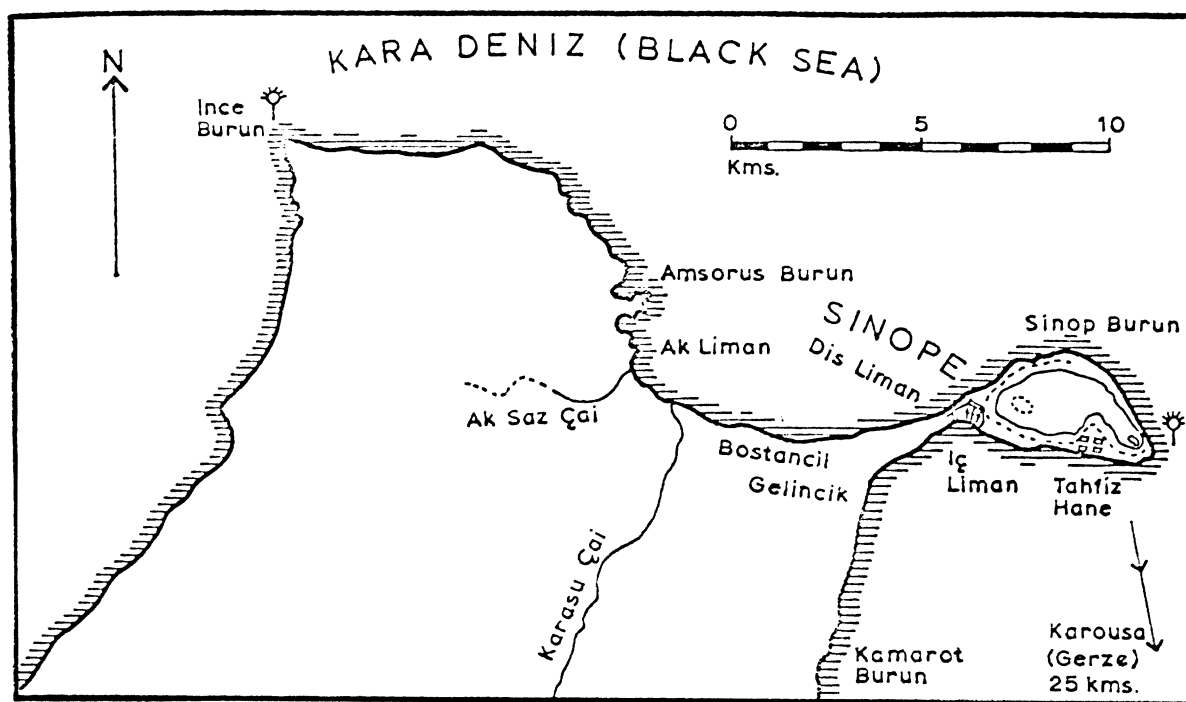


Fig. 27

TURKEY

The long northern coast contained a number of Greek cities, Trapezous, Kerasous, Kotyora, Amisos, Sinope, Tios, Sesamos and Herakleia (see Figs 1 and 23). At none of these have excavations taken place since the early 1960s and the last report by Boardman (*AR* 1962-63, 51). There have, however, been some interesting studies and chance finds. First should be mentioned the relatively old monograph, not hitherto mentioned, on the cities of the Sinopian sphere of influence and their Paphlagonian and Kolkhian hinterland (M. I. Maximova, *Antichnye Goroda Yugo-Vostochnovo Prichernomorya*, 1956). This book is a mine of information concerning the literary references, the numismatic, epigraphic and antiquarian sources on this E half of the S coast. A reason for the early colonizing drive to that part of the Black Sea coast has been found in the metal-bearing regions of Anatolia (R. Drews, *JHS* xcvi [1976] 18-31; de Jesus, *Anat. St.* xxviii

97-102). The earliest coinage of **Sinope** (eagle-head type) has been discussed recently in a paper arguing for a punning significance of the type (Hind, *NC* 1976, 1-6); a large hoard of a 'barbarised' version of the type is now published by C. Kraay and P. Mooney (*NC* 1981, 1-19). A description of Sinop (Fig. 27) and some of the cities E of it, with an account of the collections in some of the small museums was published some years ago (Hind, *SA* 1964, 3, 172-87). The eagle-on-dolphin coin type of Sinope, Istros and Olbia is treated by Karyshkovsky (*NAP* [1982] 80-98).

For the earliest period of Sinope, a fragment of a late 7th cent. B.C. dish, bearing decoration in the form of groups of 6 rays alternating with meander squares and concentric circles, can be added to the published imported pottery (Ankara, University Mus. no. 1952.28; Fig. 28). The amphora production of Sinope has not escaped the notice of Soviet scholars, though almost nothing has up to now been done with the material from Sinope itself. The chronology and distribution of these containers has been analysed and plotted by Tsekhmistrenko (*SA* 1958, 1, 56 ff.; 1960, 3, 68 ff.; 1964, 1, 321-4; 1967, 1, 256-61; *Num. i Epigr.* vii [1968] 23-36), V. I. Pruglo (*KSLA* cix [1967] 102-9), and Brashinsky (*Antichny Gorod* [1963] 132-45). The measurements of Sinopian tiles and capacities of the amphorae have been worked out by Brashinsky (*Istoria i Kultura Antichnovo Mira* [1977] 33-7). Most recent, and still unpublished, is the find of a deposit of 10 Sinopian amphora stamps on the S side of Sinop peninsula. A Rhodian stamp was found among them (D. French, *Thracia Pontica* ii, forthcoming). The total number of amphora stamps from Sinop and the environs is now 56, and three of these are Rhodian. A complete Sinopian amphora, with an additional stamp, has been found in South Bay off Sinop by fishermen (inf. D. French). Some unpublished proxeny decrees deserve mention. One is for one Sat[yros] Iaseou, a man from Kallatis, one for a Koan, Kallipides, and one gives *ateleia* up to 100 gold staters to an

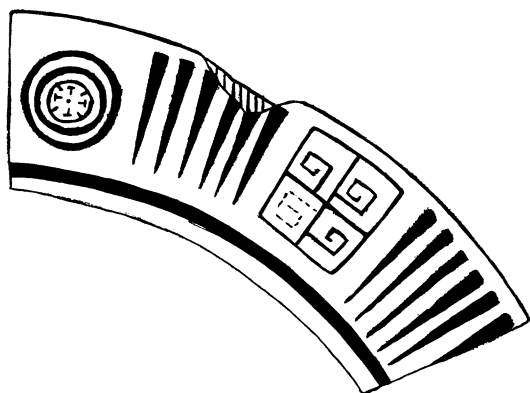


Fig. 28

anonymous person. The decree for Satyros of Kallatis will be published in *Thracia Pontica* ii. The corpus of Sinopian inscriptions is to be published by D. French, Director of the British School at Ankara, in *BAR*, Suppl. series, 1984 or 1985. An inscription of the 5th cent. B.C., found in two pieces at Olbia in 1960 and 1963, and offering *ateleia* to Hietrokles, son of Hekataios of Sinope, has been published by E. I. Levi (*Sbornik Zhebelyov* 227–31; *Inscriptiones Olbiae* 1968, No. 1, 13–14). Two fragments of a fine *stoikhedon* stele also found at Olbia probably belong to the later 5th cent. B.C. and, it is suggested by Vinogradov, are to be seen as being in honour of the tyrant of Sinope, Timesileos and his brother (*VDI* 1981, 2, 65–90).

At **Amisos (Samsun)** some late 7th cent. B.C. E Greek pottery has been published alongside the more numerous 'Phrygian' pottery (*Ist. Mitt.* xxvi [1976] pls 6–9). The find of a large bronze statue in the sea off Samsun is reported. Again Olbia gives a hint at cross-Pontic trade. A *gubernator* from Amisos is mentioned in an Olbian decree. For a collection of the coins under one cover see A. G. Malloy. *The Coinage of Amisos* (South Salem, N.Y., 1970).

Herakleia Pontike (Eregli) has recently attracted considerable attention, partly using the coins as evidence (P. Franke, *AA* 1966, 2, 130–9, Kapossy, *Schweiz. Münzblätter* xxi [1971] 21–2) and partly the inscriptions and literary sources (W. Hoepfner, *Herakleia-Eregli* [Österreich. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Klasse lxxxix, Vienna, 1966], and D. Asheri, *Ueber die Frühgeschichte von Herakleia Pontike* [Öst. Akad. cvi, Vienna, 1972]). S. Burstein has produced a general book on Herakleia, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* (California Classical Studies xiv, 1976). There is also from the same writer a brief account of 'The City and the Subjects' (*The Ancient World* ii [1979] 25–8). Two Soviet writers, with the all-Pontic approach increasingly evident in Soviet ancient history and archaeology, have recently addressed themselves to the problem of the Mariandynoi, the dependent peoples of Herakleia (S. Saprykin, *Tskhaltubo* ii 9–22; E. Frolov, *Tskhaltubo* ii 22–33). The conditions, economic and political, which led Herakleia to colonise Khersonesos on the opposite shore of the Pontos are studied by Saprykin (*Tskhaltubo* i 177–8). At Olbia again is an early proxeny decree for a Herakleiot, probably the second earliest from there after the one for a Sinopian (Brashinsky, *SA* 1963, 3, 191 ff.; *Inscriptiones Olbiae* No. 2, p. 14). As part of a series of studies of 4th cent. B.C. tyrannies, Frolov has discussed that at Herakleia (*Antichny Mir i Arkheologia* ii [1974, Saratov] 117–39). Revised chronological schemes for the shapes and stamps of Herakleiot amphorae have been produced for this city no less than for Sinope, since much additional material has been gained from the W and N Pontic cities and their hinterland (I. Brashinsky, *Num. i Epigr.* v [1965] 10–30; Vasilenko, *SA* 1970, 3; *Num. i Epigr.* xi 1974; V. Pruglo, *KSIA* cxxx [1972]; *SA* 1971, 3, 76–90). For the later Hellenistic period Saprykin shows the continuing community of interests between Herakleia and her colony Khersonesos (*VDI* 1979, 3, 43–59). A study of the war between Herakleia and the Bosphoros under Leukon I has been contributed by Burstein (*Historia* xxxiii [1974] 401–416).

Having completed a *periplous* past those cities and peoples which have attracted recent research or archaeological activity, we arrive once more at the **Bosphoros** straits which form the entrance into the **Pontos**. For a study of the effect of control or lack of control of these straits on trading into and within the Pontos, see once again I. Brashinsky in *Studien*

zur Geschichte und Philosophie des Altertums (ed. J. Harmatta [1968] 233–7). The same theme, more fully developed, and seen in particular relation to the trading links of Athens with the Black Sea area, was published in 1963, and may have escaped the notice of readers in the West (I. B. Brashinsky, *Athiny i Severnoye Prichernomor'ye*, 1963).

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Below is appended a list of abbreviations not standard in this journal.

AO – *Arkheologicheskiye Otkrytiya* (Moscow, 1966 etc.) for years 1965 ff.
Arkh – *Arkheologia* (Sofia)
Arkh (K) – *Arkheologia* (Kiev)
Dacia – *Dacia: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne* (Bucureşti)
IBAI – *Izvestia na Bulgarskoto Arkheologicheskoto Institut* (Sofia)
Istros – *Istros* (Braila)
Izкусство – *Izкусство* (Sofia)
IVAD – *Izvestia na Arkheologicheskoto Druzhestvo*, Varna
INMAV or *I.N.M.* Varna – *Izvestia Narodnovo Muzei Arkheolog.* Varna
KSIA – *Kratkiye Soobscheniya o Raskopkakh i Polevykh Issledovaniyakh Instituta Arkheologii SSSR* (Moscow)
KSIA (K) – *Kratkiye Soobscheniya Instituta Arkheologii* (Kiev)
KSO GAM – *Kratkiye Soobscheniya Odesskovo Gosudarstvennovo Arkheologicheskovo Museya* (Odessa)
MASP – *Materialy po Arkheologii Severnovo Prichernomor'ya* (Odessa)
MIA – *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR* (Moscow)
NAP – *Numizmatika Antichnovo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev, 1982)
Num. i Epig. – *Numizmatika i Epigraphika* (Moscow)
Num. i Sphr – *Numizmatika i Sphragistika* (Kiev)
PDKSP – *Pamyatniki Drevnikh Kultur Severo-Zapadnovo Prichernomor'ya* (Kiev, 1981)
Peuce – *Peuce* (Tulcea)
Pontica – *Pontica* (Constanţa)
SA – *Sovietskaya Arkheologia* (Moscow)
SAI – *Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochnikov* (Moscow)
Sbornik Pharmakovskiy – *Khudozhestvennaya Kultura i Arkheologia Antichnovo Mira* (Moscow, 1976)
Sbornik Zhebelyov – *Antichnaya Istoria i Kultura Sredizemnomor'ya i Prichernomor'ya* (Leningrad, 1968)
SCIV – *Studii si cercetări Istorie vechi* (Bucurestii)
SGH – *Soobschenia Gosudarstvennovo Hermitazha* (Leningrad)
SGMII – *Soobschenia Gosudarstvennovo Museya Izobrazitelnykh Iskustv imeni Pushkina* (Moscow)
Thracia Pontica – see pages 1 and 2 of this report
Tskhaltubo – *Problemy Grescheskoi Kolonizatsii Severnovo i Vostochnovo Prichernomor'ya, Materialy I Vsesoyuznovo sympoziuma po drevnei istorii Prichernomor'ya*, Tskhaltubo, 1977 (Tbilisi, 1979)
Tskhaltubo ii – *Demographicheskaya Situatsia v Prichernomor'ye v*

- Period Velikoi Grecheskoi Kolonizatsii, Materialy II Vsesoyuznovo Symposiuma po drevnei istorii Prichernomorya*, Tskhaltubo, 1979 (Tbilisi, 1981)
- Tskhaltubo iii – Materialy III Vsesoyuznovo symposiuma po drevnei istorii Prichernomorya na temi 'Ellinism i Prichernomorye'*, Tskhaltubo, 1982, *Tezisy dokladov: soobscheniya* (Tbilisi, 1982)
- VDI – Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* (Moscow)
- ZOGAM – Zapiski Odesskovo Gosudarstvennovo Arkheologicheskovo Museya* (Odessa).



Archaeology of the Greeks and Barbarian Peoples around the Black Sea (1982-1992)

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ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE GREEKS AND BARBARIAN PEOPLES AROUND THE BLACK SEA (1982-1992)

This report is a continuation of that of 1984, which covered the then Soviet Union for the 1970s and Bulgaria, Rumania and Turkey through the 1960s and 1970s (AR 30 1983-84, 71-97). The eastern side of the Black Sea (Kolkhis and Iberia) has recently received a report by D.D. Kacharava (AR 37 1990-91, 79-86), to continue the one already provided by her in 1984 (AR 30 98-101), and to it the reader is referred for information on the Kolkhian archaeological sites.

The first two-thirds of the 1980s saw a great deal of archaeological activity, staging of conferences, publication of articles and monographs. An ominous sign of impending change was the cessation in 1988 of the annual compilation, *Arkheologicheskiye Otkrytiya - AO (Archaeological Discoveries)* for the year 1986. With it disappeared the only all-Union report on the year's archaeological work and publication of excavators' preliminary conclusions.

The following year the East European bloc of nations itself began to disintegrate. In December 1989 an internally wracked Rumania, in January 1990 a relatively peaceful Bulgaria gained political freedoms, but suffered from increasingly weak economies. Former constituent members of the Soviet Union, such as Moldova, were detached in the midst of warfare with dissident sub-groups like the Russians of Transdnier. Since December 1991 confrontation with a Russia cut off from large stretches of the Black Sea has beset the Ukraine, whose price-inflation and money-devaluation is far worse than that of Russia itself. Not only the Black Sea fleet, but also Sebastopol and indeed the whole Crimea, are bones of contention between these two largest successor states to the old Soviet Union. On the east side of the Black Sea the situation is still worse. Georgia is torn internally between factions in Tbilisi and by breakaway movements of distinct racial groups in Abkhazia on the coast, and along the Caucasus mountains in south Ossetia. To make matters even more fraught, another stretch of the coast is in turmoil with an army fighting in support of the former president in and around Poti (anc. Phasis region). Only Turkey in its province of Thrace and along its extensive Anatolian coast has an unchanged look about the Black Sea regions. In these circumstances it seems timely to review the results of work done in the fields of ancient history and archaeology in this region in the 1980s, which was a period of great activity and productivity by scholars within the relatively stable, if stagnant, climate of the East European and Soviet regimes (Fig. 1 shows the area covered).

Conferences and symposia played a continuing part in disseminating information and promoting discussion both within the eastern scholarly community and more widely. The series of symposia, *Tskhaltubo I-III*, the last held in 1982 but published in 1985, has been continued since that year at the new Vani Museum and study centre. The symposium *Tskhaltubo-Vani IV*, on the theme *Local Ethno-Political Formations in the Black Sea Area in the 7th-4th centuries BC* was published in Tbilisi in 1988. *Vani V* (1987) on the theme *The Black Sea Littoral in the 7th-5th centuries BC - Written and Archaeological Sources*, Tbilisi, 1990, also appeared in a French version as *Le Pont Euxin vu par les Grecs*, eds. O.D. Lordkipanidze and P. Lévêque, 1990. In September 1990 *Vani VI* was held under the title *The Black Sea Littoral - Early Greek epos and Archaeology*, to appear in two versions again

in Tbilisi and Besançon in 1993. The latest in the series, *Vani VII*, was to take place in September 1993 (though amid alarming reports of civil war in Sukhumi in Abkhazia, and in and around Poti) on the theme *The Black Sea as a Contact Zone - Relations between the Mediterranean and Black Sea area in the 2nd-1st millennia bc*. In fact it was cancelled a few days before it was due to start, as the war in western Georgia advanced from Poti towards Kutaisi.

The second international series of symposia is held at Sozopol, Bulgaria (anc. Apollonia in Thrace) under the title *Thracia Pontica* (= TP). TP II held in 1982, appeared in 1985, sub-titled *Le Littoral Thrace et son rôle dans le Monde ancien* (Iambol). TP III (1985) was published in 1986 in Sofia, under the title *Les Thraces et les Colonies grecques VII-V siècles avant n.e.*, and TP IV (1988) had the theme *Les Agglomérations côtières de la Thrace avant la colonisation grecque* (Sofia, 1991). TP V was held in October 1991, on the theme, *Les Ports dans la vie de la Thrace ancienne*, printed summaries 1991; on the usual pattern it would be published in 1994. Inside Russia a series of seminars has been held at Rostov-on-Don. These started as meetings of pedagogical institutes and have developed into a wide-ranging forum of archaeological work held every two years (1986, 1988, 1990, 1992) on the theme *International Relations within the Black Sea Basin in Ancient and Mediaeval Times (IRBS I-VI)*. Another is to be held in May 1994, for which papers have already been collected. In 1988 the Crimean region held a large conference at Simferopol, of which there are brief summaries of the papers (*Problems of Ancient Culture*, 1988 (= PAC Simf.)).

Throughout the 1980s various Western-language journals, *BCH* (1986 suppl., 1989.1), *Klio* (1986, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1991), *DHA* (1980, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1993), *RA* (1985, 1986, 1987), *Das Antike Welt* (1980) and *Das Altertum* (1984) have all given coverage to outstanding finds made in the Black Sea area or to conferences, such as those at Vani. A report in German on archaeological work carried out in the USSR in the 1970s was produced by D.B. Shelov in H. Heinen, *Erträge der Forschung* 146, Darmstadt, 1980, 341-402. More recently, accounts of finds at Hermonassa, Pantikapaion, and in the Taman Peninsula, have been provided by M. Treister (*Archaeological News* 1986, 1988). Within the last few weeks a full report on archaeological discoveries within the former USSR has appeared under the joint authorship of M.J. Treister and J.G. Vinogradov *AJA* 97 (1993), 521-63. This work, and my own, should prove complementary in view of their different range and emphases.

Conferences held in the West have proliferated. Papers relating to the Thracian region (W side of the Black Sea) were delivered at the Sydney Congress (1985), which appeared in print as *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, ed. J.P. Descoeudres, Canberra/Oxford 1990. The *Xenia* series of monographs, under the general editorship of W. Schuller at Konstanz, has produced works in German on Kolkhis (1985), the Bulgarian coast (1985) and *Histria* 1990, and promises more collections of papers and books on Kolkhis (1993-94). In 1990 a one-day conference was held in London on the theme *Colchis and the Greek World*, of which the papers are still to be published. Britain continued to be the venue of conferences

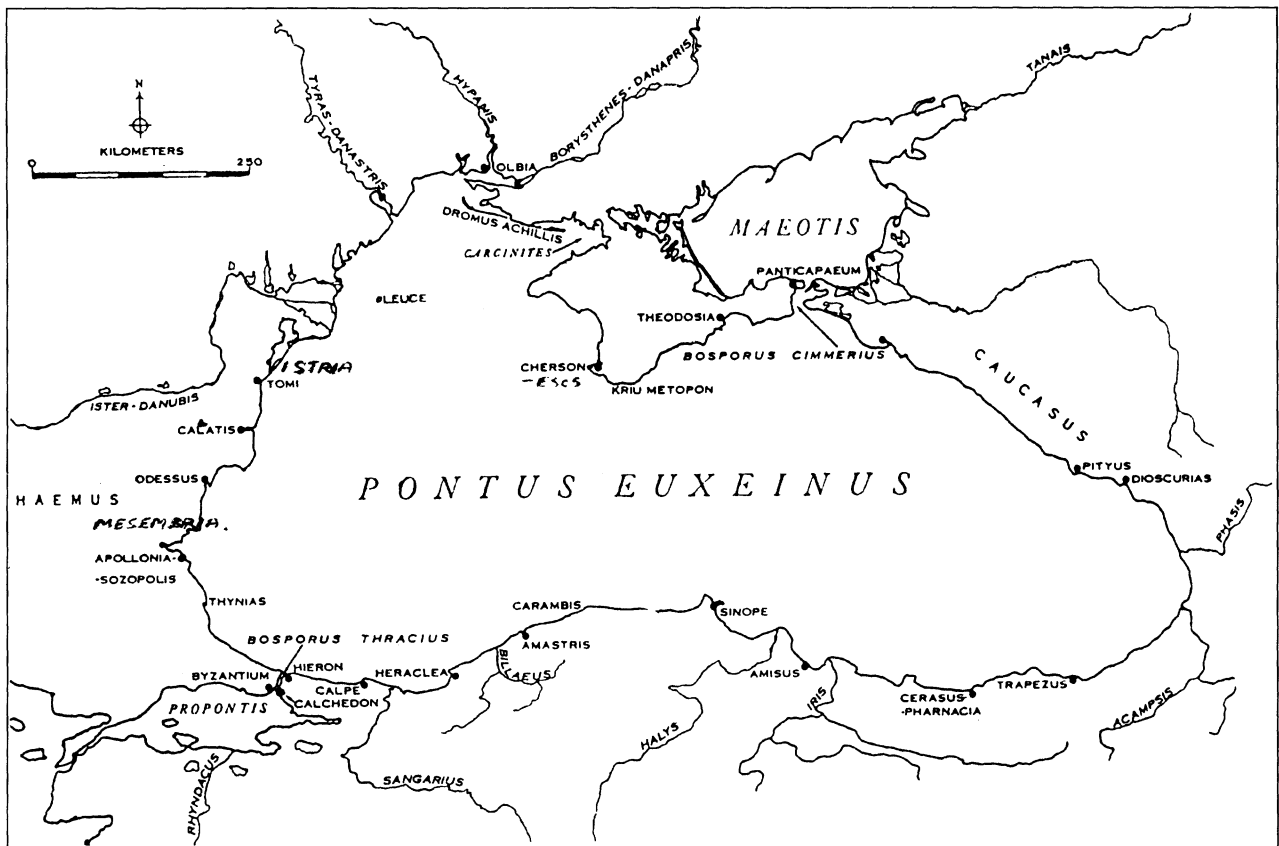


FIG. 1

with a Black Sea interest in 1991: at King's College, London, on *The Greeks in the Black Sea*; a section of the Classical Association Conference held at Warwick was devoted to the same area, the papers from both remaining unpublished. Two new journals will, however, begin from this year to make accessible recent work by former Soviet scholars and by others from the east European States. *Das Schwarze Meer* is to be edited jointly from Berlin and Bucharest, and *From Scythia to Siberia - A Journal of Ancient Civilizations* will be published by Brill of Leiden. Both have reached the stage of assembly of the contents of the first two numbers.

Before launching into a coastal, site-by-site, survey, following the pattern of the last report, some works of general relevance to the Black Sea area should be mentioned. The reprint of Aubrey Diller's *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*, Hakkert 1986, makes much more easily available the crucial texts of Ps-Scymnus' versified geography of the Black Sea coasts, and its derivative, the Anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini*. N. Ehrhardt reviews the evidence for the religious links between Miletus and her colonies, and for the cults worshipped in them (*Milet und seine Kolonien-Vergleichende Untersuchung der Kultischen und Politischen Einrichtungen*, Frankfurt 1983, ed.2, 1989). J. Bouzek surveys the Greek pottery imported into the region (*BCH* 113 (1989) 1. 249-59) and extends the coverage, though unevenly, to other categories of material (*Studies of Greek Pottery in the Black Sea Region*, Prague 1989). Numismatic literature on the area is covered by Poenaru-Bordea (*International Numismatic Congress*, London

1986, 68-89), and the Black Sea collection of coins in the British Museum has recently been published by M. Price (*SNG IX The British Museum Part I: The Black Sea*, London 1993). Inscriptions from the region have been made accessible to specialists attending the Congresses of Greek and Roman epigraphy at Constanta (1977) Athens (1982) and Sofia (1987). Summaries of recent epigraphic finds within the former USSR were provided by J.G. Vinogradov (*Arkheologicheskyy Vestnik* 31 (1978), 301-16; *Bull. Epigraphique* 1990).

Two works in Russian, which are of general interest for the Black Sea as a whole, concern its fluctuating level at various periods (P.V. Fyodorov, *Kolyebania Urovnya Moryei i Okeanov z 15,000 Lyet*, Moscow 1982; I.V. Bruyeko and V.A. Karpov, *VDI* 1992, 2. 87-97). The latter article, based mainly in the NW part of the Black Sea, argues for a drop in sea-level in PR and EC times, which was reversed in the 1st Ct BC to 1st Ct AD. Combining geology, hydrogeology and geomorphology, they argue that their data give a reliable eustatic curve and should aid the location of lost coastal settlements. Agbunov likewise recommends a complex study of the ancient texts and geomorphology in the search for lost sites (*Drevneishiye Gosudarstva na Territorii SSSR*, Moscow 1981, 239-46). Also general in application is the book by J.B. Brashinsky (*Myetody Issledovania Antichnoi Torgovli*, Leningrad 1984) with its all-round approach to the study of the origins, capacity and contents of wine and oil bulk-carrying amphoras. Computation is used in restoring three basic forms of such amphoras, pithoidal, conical and globular, by Monakhov and Slonov (*VDI*

GREEK COLONIES ON THE BULGARIAN COAST

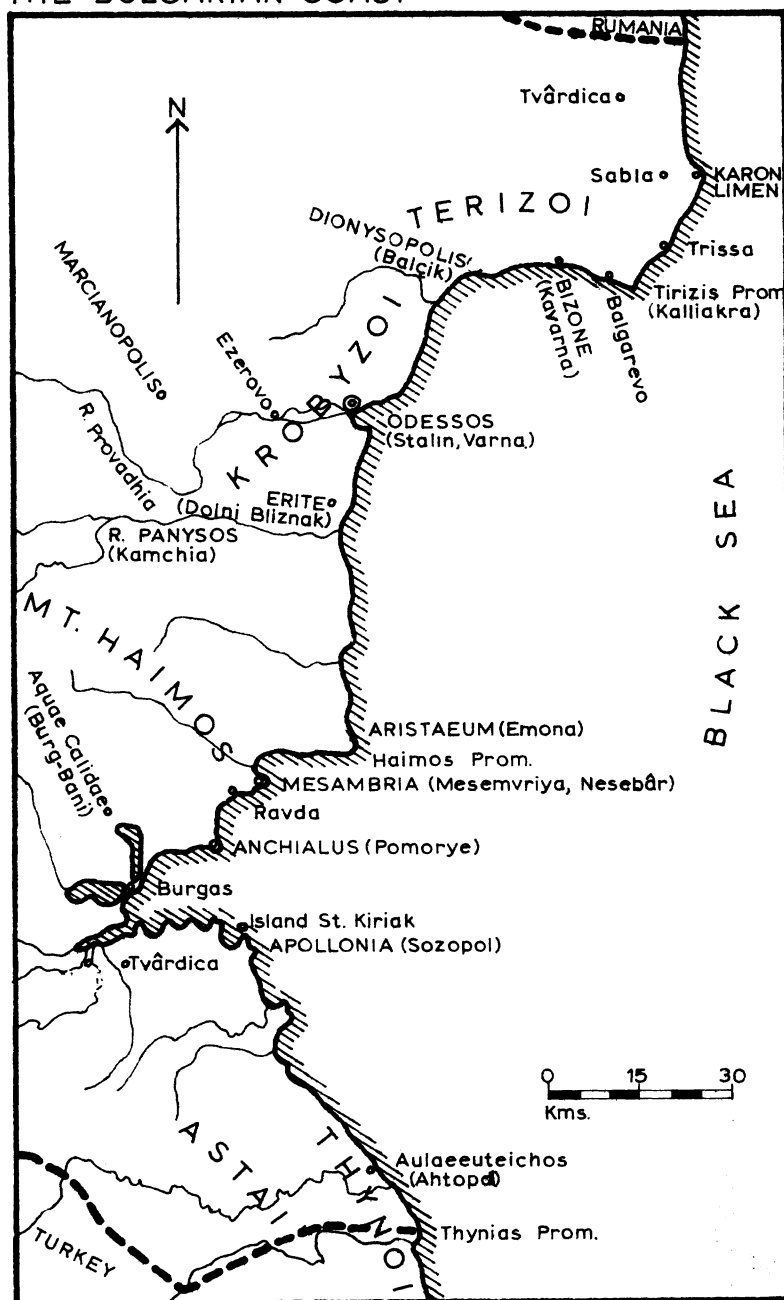


FIG. 2

1992, 2. 97-110). Finally, one should mention the Russian language gazetteer of ancient sites around the Black Sea, recently compiled by two Georgian scholars, D.D. Kacharava and G.T. Kvirkevelia, which includes earlier literature on each city, and more modern work down to 1987 (*Goroda i Poselenia Prichernomor'ya Antichnoi Epokhi*, Tbilisi 1991 (= *GPPE*). We now follow the pattern of the last report, going clockwise around the Black Sea.

TURKEY IN EUROPE

The coast and harbour of **Salmydessos**, of evil reputation among the Greeks as the haunt of wreckers, have recently been discussed by J. Stronk (*TP III*, 203-15; *IV* 101-8). Northward from Salmydessos the cities of the Thracian coast have received a good, if brief treatment in English from B. Isaac (*The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest*, Brill 1986, 239-78). N. Ehrhardt analyses the relations between Greek cities and the Thracian tribes and dynasts (*Eos* 76 (1988) 293-304).

BULGARIA

On the coast of Bulgaria (Fig. 2) the LR site at **Ahtopol** (**Agathopolis**) by the mouth of the river Velek has been studied since 1984. V. Velkov suggests that there may have been an independent polis on the peninsula as early as the 5th Ct BC. Two fragmentary Greek inscriptions have been found, as well as coins of the Thracian dynasts Kotys I, Sauthes IV and Kersebleptes. (*TP V*, 1991, resumé 46). Off-shore at **Arapia** an early Byz wreck was found, containing pottery, glass vessels and two coins of the early 6th Ct AD (Naydenova, *ibid.* 26). Further N along the coast was a small C site near the mouth of the small river Ropotamo and an EBA site in the shallow waters of the bay (*TP IV*, 451-67). At **Urdoviza** (near Kiten) is another EBA site, underwater; perhaps the peninsula was a Thracian fort, as its name might suggest (Poroyanov, *TP V*, resumé 3-4). I. Karayotov publishes a verse inscription from **Kiten**, mentioning one Satyros, son of Heragoras and the city Perinthos (*Actes du VII Congrès Epigraphique*, Bucharest 1979, 388-9). Stone anchors of the 2nd-1st millenia have been found off-shore at many points of the Bulgarian coastline - **Ropotamo**, the headlands of **Maslen Nos** and **Kaliakra** as well as at anchorage-points beside the harbours of **Sozopol** and **Nesebâr**. They have given rise to the view that native Thracian chieftains sponsored sailing along the coast both long before and after the Greek settlement (Poroyanov, *TP III* (1986) 158-65). At **Kolokita Nos**, the burial with the double ring of amphoras (*AR* 1983-84 73) is now published (Tsaneva, *TP II*, 352-9). The hill-top fort at **Malkoto Kale**, one of a chain of Thracian strongholds in the copper-bearing hills (Medni Rid) was partly excavated in the 1970s, and proved to be in commercial contact with Apollonia in the 6th-5th Cts BC (*Thracia III* (1974) 107-13; P. Delev, *Xenia* 16 (1985) 17-18).

Thracian settlements, preceding the foundation of Apollonia, are known at Attia Peninsula, St. Kirik Island, Meden Rid/Malkoto Kale, Lobodovo Kale and at Maslen Nos.

Apollonia in Thrace (in the territory of the Astai). The old part of Sozopol is now mainly on the peninsula which is joined to the mainland by a sandy isthmus some 120m wide (Fig. 3). A naval base occupies the island of St Kirik, which is linked to the peninsula by a mole protecting the N side of the harbour.

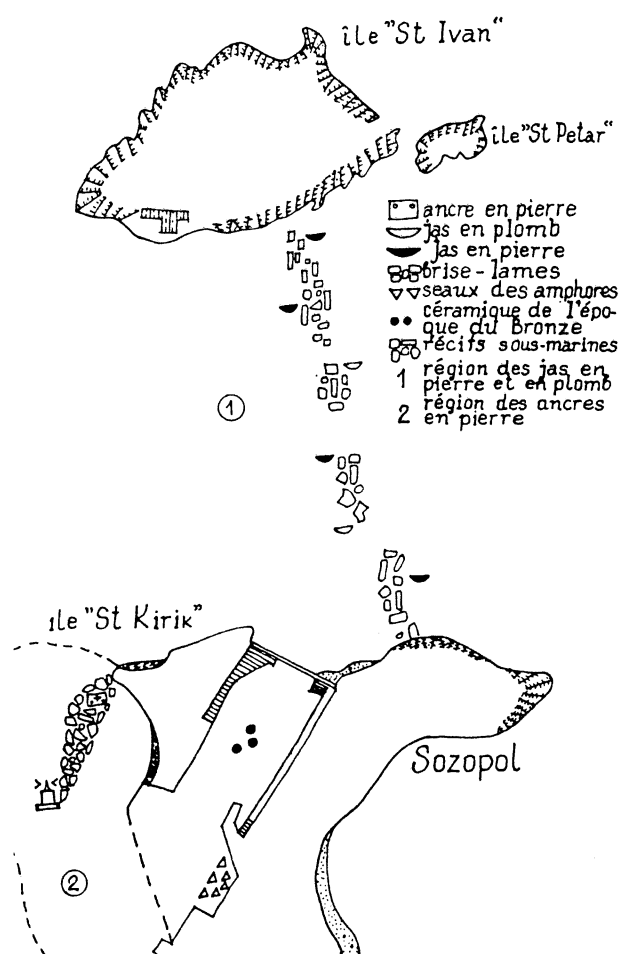


FIG. 3

Strabo says that most of the city lay on the island, though it probably also occupied much of the peninsula, while several necropoleis lay in the Park and at Kalfata. The harbours have been studied by Poroyanov (*TP II*, 196-207) where a schematic map of Sozopol and the three islands of St Kirik, St Ivan and St Peter is given, on which the numerous finds of stone anchors, and stone and lead anchor-stocks, are plotted. For discussion of stone anchor-types of LBA and EIA and of stone and lead-stocks from wooden anchors of the Greek period see G. Kapitän (*TP III*, 381-95) and M. Lazarov (*Vani VII* 1990, in press). The earliest wg style and other E Greek pottery from Apollonia is discussed by M. Reho (*TP III*, 216-20) and the bf and rf imports into the cities of the Thracian Black Sea coast likewise (*TP II*, 215-6). The type on the earliest Apolloniate silver is a very appropriate wooden anchor with stone or lead stock, and, as supplementary symbol, a lobster (*astakos*) (Fig. 4). It is suggested that this is a pun on the name of the territory of the nearby tribe, *Astai-Astikē* (Hind, *TP II*, 89-104). This tribe is thought to have had as one of its forts the neighbouring *bria* at Attia (L. Ogenova *TP III*, 240). The coin-holdings of the British Museum have most recently been published by M. Price (*SNG IX B.M.* London, 1993, plate VI-VII). Distribution of the silver coins of Apollonia inland has been plotted by Stephanova (*Numismatika* 14.4 (1980), 3-9) and K. Dmitrov

lists 13 hoards of Apolloniate silver found in the interior of Thrace (*TP IV*, 207). Stephanova has also studied the bronze coins, which have as their type a statue of Apollo, dating to the mid-4th to mid-2nd Cts BC (*TP II*, 272-82) and points to prototypes on coins of Antiochus II for variants from the 3rd Ct BC. Bronze arrow-head money continues to be studied (P. Balabanov, *Numismatika* (1986) 2. 3-14, and K. Dmitrov, *TP IV*, 205-8). The latest view is that they were issued by Apollonia, Istria and Olbia before true coinage, as they are found concentrated in the hinterland of these three cities (*SC NUM* (1984) 17-24; *Klio* 73 (1991) 1, 20-7, *sv Istria*). The early pottery found on the harbour bottom is suggested to be from the earliest necropolis now underwater (Panayotova, *TP V*, 29, *resumé*) where remains of an Aeneolithic-EBA settlement were found in 1990-91 (*TP V*, 34, *resumé*). A series of fine late 5th-early 4th Ct BC rf bell kraters from the necropolis have been given excellent illustration (M. Tsaneva, *Krateri iz Apolloni*, Sofia 1982). Still unpublished is the chance find of a triangular lead weight bearing the civic badge, the anchor, as also are the finds from the 1992 excavations on S. Ivan island near the monastery, and those from the H necropolis on the edge of the new town (excavator C. Panayotova). A very brief account of Apollonia in German was given by Ivanov (*Das Altertum* 30.2 (1984), 123-5).

A Thracian fortress near the village of **Rouen** at the head of the Bay of Burgas is discussed by Karayotov and Kiachkina (*TP III*, 245-50). The site at **Burgos Bani** is treated in *TP III*, 232, and the Thracian settlement at **Debelton** (*Deultum*) excavated between 1981 and 1985 is identified as a shrine and focal point of trade between Apollonia and the Thracians from the 6th to the 4th Cts BC (Balabanov, *TP III*, 221-37). Further evidence for trade overland through SE Thrace has been found at *emporion Pisteros* on the right bank of the Hebros. An inscription was found in 1990, mentioning Apolloniates, Thracians and Maroneans (Domaradski, *TP V*, *resumé*). It seems fairly clear that the place-names on the silver bowls in the Rogozen Treasure (see below), unlike the find-spot of the treasure itself in NW Thrace (**Triballia**), were all of towns in its SE corner in the hinterland of the Propontis (A. Fol,



FIG. 4



FIG. 5

Iskusstvo 1986, 2-4; 44-59; *Arkheologia* 28.3 (1987) 1-3; Hind, *Rogozen Treasure* (ed. B.F. Cook, 1989). Roads across SE Thrace have been traced by the Apollonia-Strandzha expedition, following overland and riverine routes between the N Aegean and Propontis on the one hand and the Black Sea on the other (Stoikova, *TP I*, 223-4). The capital of the late 4th Ct Odrysian kings, **Seuthopolis**, is published by Ognenova (L. Ognenova-Marinovitch, *Seuthopolis-Byt i Kultura I*, 1984). A second city of the Thracian princes, **Kabylē** near Iambol, has been excavated (V. Velkov, *IIIrd Int. Thrak. Congress Vienna II*, Vienna 1984, 213-7). North of the Bay of Burgas **Ankhialos**, a *polikhnia* of Apollonia, was a valuable salt-pan region, and Apolloniate coins found their way into the Thracian hinterland. A new hoard was found at **Sredha-Mahala** in 1984 (Karayotov, *TP III*, 250). Coins of Mesembria of H date found their way to Kabylē, probably via Aitos and Karnobat, where types of the early 3rd Ct BC are common (K. Dmitrov, *TP V*, resumé 9-11). The Thracian sanctuary at **Monastir Tepe**, by the mineral baths of Burgas, has yielded 'West Slope' ware and over 200 amphora stamps of Thasos, Rhodes, Kos and Knidos (Kyashkina, *TP V*, resumé 2). A number of settlements at the head of the Bay of Burgas imported Greek material in the 6th-5th Cts BC - **Izgreve** near Burgas, as well as **Sladki Kladentsi**, a Thracian sanctuary at **Khiloto**, and a fort (*tyrsis*) on the N shore of **Lake Mandra** (Karayotov, *TP V*, resumé 20).

Mesembria (Nesebâr). Since 1983 Nesebâr has been a 'Centre of World Culture' (UNESCO) on account of its numerous Byz Churches. The ancient and mediaeval periods of Nesebâr have recently been popularised with good illustrations by V. Velkov, L. Ognenova and M. Chimbuleva (*Mesambria-Mesembria-Nesebur*, Sofia 1986). A brief account of Mesembria with references to recent archaeological material and inscriptions is given by Velkov (*Xenia* 16, 29-37). The evolution of the Thracian name Melsambria to the Greek Mesembria is studied

by Vlahov (*TP III*, 1986, 176-7). A point in dispute is the date of the *bria* (Thracian fort). Ognenova sets it immediately before the Greek colony (*Wiadomosce Archaeologiczne* 44 (1979) 1. 37-8). Alexandrescu and Morints argue that it is earlier by some two to three Cts (*Pontica* 15 (1982) 47-56). Ognenova suggests that there were harbours both N and S of the peninsula (*TP V*, resumé 28). Revised estimates of the size of the anc. city suggest that to the present peninsula should be added areas to N and S now under water, giving an area of some 40 hectares. The 'helmeted-head type' on the silver coinage on the earliest coins of Mesembria is made more familiar in the West by the publication of the B.M. Catalogue (Price, *SNG IX* pl.X 265-76). The hero Melsas is thought to be represented here. Mesembrian gold staters are studied by Rogalski (*INMV* 18 (1982) 92-9) and the bronze of H date by Dmitrov (*TP V*, resumé 9-11). A hoard of 282 coins of Macedonia Prima, Thasos, Thracian imitations and Athenian tetradrachms, found in Nesebâr town, is discussed by I. Karayotov (*TP II*, 151-5). Inscriptions in honour of Egyptian deities and illustrating the cult of Demeter and Korē are published by Velkov (*Hommages à M.J. Vermaseren III*, Leiden, 1978, 1293-5; *Festschrift Chr. Danov*, Sofia 1984). An inscription of the 4th Ct BC honours one Matris, son of Borykhos, grandson of Aiskhines, who is said to have protected the territory of Mesembria from attack. In another inscription, a Mesembrian, Polyxenos, is honoured by the city of Dionysopolis (Velkov, *X Int. Congress Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, 117). Perhaps the most interesting recent find is the sculptural relief of the 2nd Ct BC, on which are represented the six *stratego*i attending to ritual in the presence of a *hekataion* (Fig. 5) (Velkov, *Arkheologia* 26 (1984) 22-3; *Xenia* 16, 47; Alexandrescu-Vianu, *St. Class.* 24 (1986) 99-107). Relations with the Thracian ruler, Sadala, and with the Astai, continue to excite interest, as do the coins mentioned in the Sadala inscription (Velkov, *Mesambria-Mesembria-Nesebur* ...12-14; J. Youroukova, *Epigraphica* 42 (1980) 13-24). The importance of Mesem-

bria at the time of the transition from LR to Byz times is underlined by Velkov (*Byzantinobulgarica* 7, Sofia 1981 137-60).

Odessos (Varna). Beshevlyev connects the ancient name 'Watery Place' with the pile-dwellings on Varna Lagoon (*INMV* 24 (1988) 5-14). In 1985 a small-scale excavation on the hill above the R baths found a rare A layer, in which was a timber-and-post-hole dwelling with traces of wattle-and-daub walls; associated material included fragments of a lotus bowl, a Chiot omphalos-bowl and Attic bf sherds. This may have been an outlying part of the polis, or part of a nearby Thracian settlement in contact with it (M. Lazarov, *Vani* V 1987, summary). Gocheva has studied the priesthoods held at Odessos and Dionysopolis, modern Balchik (*Klio* 62 (1980) 1. 49-53). Glassware from Odessos and other cities on this W coast, which is now held in the Varna Museum, is published in the museum's journal (A. Minchev, *INMV* 16 (1980), 20 (1984), 24 (1988), 25 (1989). Minchev discusses also the ECh period in Odessos and its territory (*Xenia* 16 (1985) 51-74). The coins of the small kingly of Scythia Minor - Kanites, Tanusa, Akrosas, Sarias, Kharaspes, Aelis - are studied by J. Youroukova (*Thrakia* IV 1977, 105ff). They are said to have been struck in the W Pontic cities north of the Haimos Mountains, i.e. at Odessos, Tomoi, Kallatis and Dionysopolis.

Dionysopolis (Balchik). Knowledge of the ancient toponyms of places near this small city has been considerably increased in detail by the find in 1982 of an inscription of the 2nd Ct BC. King Kotys is mentioned, also a Philippos, son of Aristides, a Thracian called Dintastes and Sadala, seemingly a regional *strategos*. A number of local place-names are given - Aphrodisias, Akra, Neapolis, Kerbaitis, Skerizis (Banyev and Dmitrov, *TP II*, 34-8; *VIII Int. Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, Athens).



FIG. 6

Bizonē (Kavarna). Two Thracian tombs of the 2nd-1st Cts BC were found near Kavarna (*INMV* 25 (1989) 9-12). The large number of Sinopian amphora stamps in the Kavarna Museum have been published (Banyev, Lazov and Salkin, *TP II*, 29-33). Salkin argues that Bizonē dates as a colony from a much earlier period than has formerly been believed (*TP III*, 251-5). This is based on the finds there of a little E Greek banded ware which is dated to the late 7th Ct BC. But the bulk of the pottery from the plateau comprised Herakleiot, Rhodian and Sinopian amphoras of the late 5th to the 3rd Cts BC.

Tirizis (Kaliakra). Underwater excavations by the cape and to its N have found almost 100 stone anchors (Lazarov, *Vani* VI 1990, in press) more than anywhere else off the Bulgarian coast. The dedication inscription, found in 1981 off the cape, has now been published by Lazarov and Popov (*TP II*, 156-63; Lazarov, *VDI* (1985) 3, 47-50). It is a votive made by Antigonos, son of Herakleitos, a Macedonian of Stybera to the Dioskouroi Soteris on behalf of the local ruler Sariakes, and is dated by the authors to c 175-150 BC.

THRACE AND THE THRACIANS

Two large-scale art-books have appeared, which well illustrate the elite elements in Thracian culture: *Gold of the Thracian Horsemen - Treasures from Bulgaria*, Les éditions de l'homme, Montreal 1987; *Traci - Arte e Cultura nelle Terre di Bulgaria dalle origini alla Tarda Romanita*, Art World Media, Venice 1989. An account of slavery among the Thracians is given by V. Velkov (*Studia zur Alten Geschichte, Siegfried Lauffer zum 70 Geburtstag*, Rome 1986, 1023-30) and the tribal geography is surveyed by A. Fol, T. Spiridona and M. Oppermann (Fol and Spiridona, *Istoricheska Geographia na Trakiiskate Plemena do III vyeka pr. n.e.* I & II, Sofia 1983; Oppermann, *Thraker zwischen Karpatenbogen und der Ägäis*, 1984). The genealogy of the last Odrysian kings of Thrace, c. 100 BC to AD 45, is studied by Tacheva (*Godishnik Sofiiskogo Universiteta Kliment Okhridsky-Istorichesky Fakultet* 77 (1985) 412-17). Exceptional finds of recent times are the monumental tomb found in 1982 at **Sveshtary** in NE Bulgaria, which had impressive architectural and painted decoration dating it to the 4th-3rd Cts BC. Among the most distinctive features were caryatids on the internal walls (M. Chichikova, *Iskusstvo* 4 (1983) 18-27; *Archeologia* 190, Dijon, 1984, 17ff; J. Best (ed.) *Thracians and Mycenaean IV. Int. Congress of Thracology*, Rotterdam, Leiden, N.Y. 1989, 205-17; M. Chichikova et al. *The Thracian Tomb near the Village of Sveshtary*, Sofia 1986, 123pp).

A great find of silver plate was made at **Rogozen** in NW Bulgaria between the summer of 1985 and January 1986; it consisted of 108 *phialai* and 54 jugs (**Fig. 6**). Some items may be Getic in origin, others influenced by the metalwork of Olynthos. However, a sizeable number had obviously served as a kind of tribute-gift to the Odrysian princes from cities in the corner of Thrace inland of the Sea of Marmara (*Iskusstvo* 1986, 6. 1-63; *Arkheologia* 29.3 (1987) 26-66; I. Marazov, *The Rogozen Treasure*, Sofia 1988; B.F. Cook (ed.) *The Rogozen Treasure, Papers delivered at a Conference held 13th March, 1987*, B.M. London 1989). It is suggested that the collection was assembled c. 383/2 BC, looted by Philip and lost to the Triballoi, ultimately to be hidden from the Celtic invaders c. 280 BC (Tacheva, *Arkheologia* 29.4 (1987) 1-11). New local variants of the Thracian rider god/hero continue to be found, the epithet *Aularkenos* in the Odessos region (Karamblyieva

THE GREEK CITIES OF THE DOBRUDZHA (ROUMANIA)

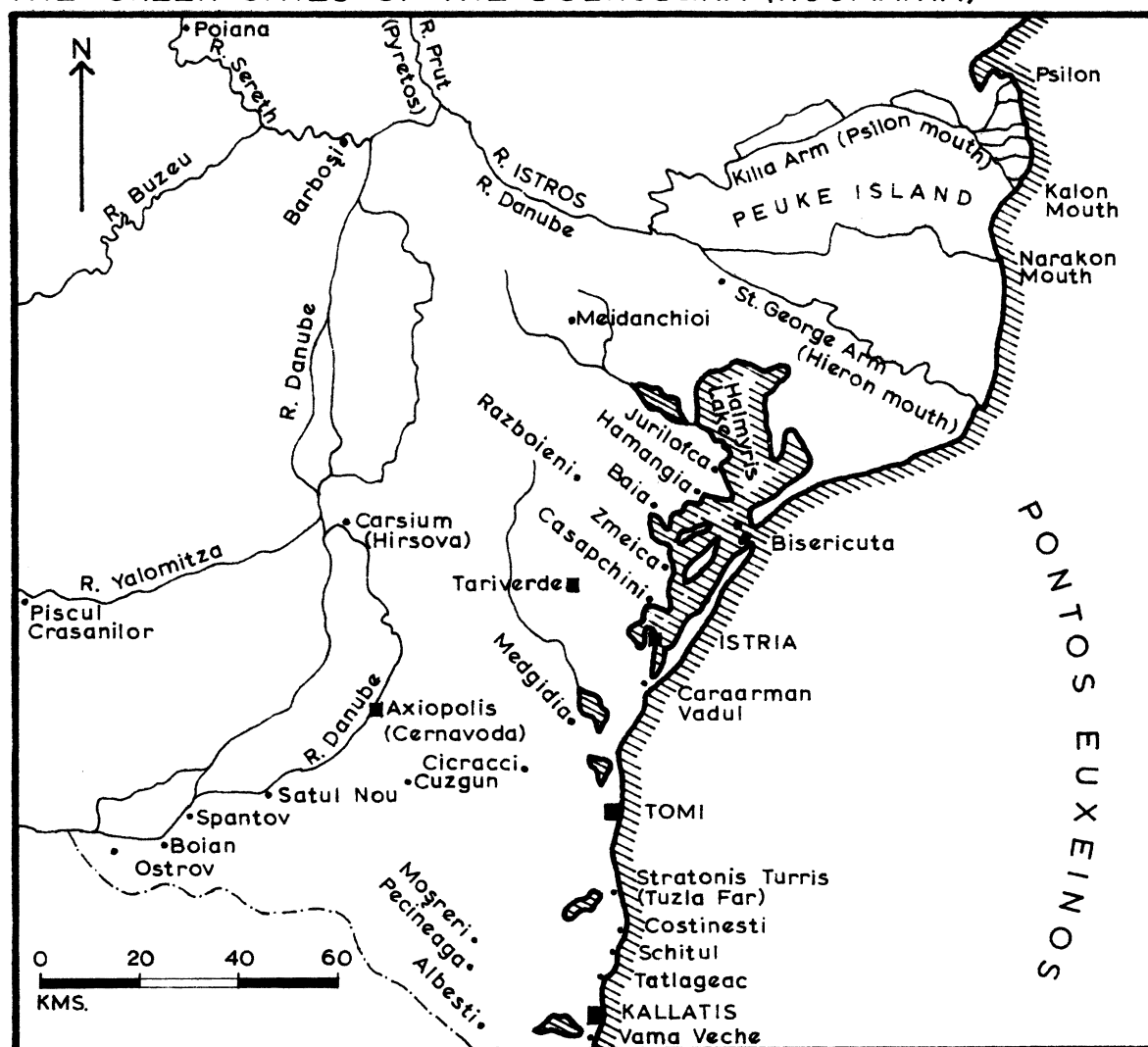


FIG. 7

and Ivanov, *INMV* 23 1987, 74-83) and an Ares *Zyragetes* from a shrine of c. 300-250 BC (V. Naidenova, *Vani V*). A new synthesis of Thrace in this period will be given by Z. Archibald (*CAH VI*² in press). Before leaving Bulgaria, the survey of underwater archaeology along its coast should be mentioned (M. Lazarov, *VI Congresso Internacional de Arquelogia Submarina*, Cartagena 1985, 135-8) as well as the same author's report on studies of the import of Greek amphoras into the coastal part of Pontic Thrace (*BCH Suppl. XIII* 1986, 401-5) which also includes Kallatis, Tomis and Istria in Roumania, to which we now turn.

RUMANIA

The southernmost city on the Roumanian coast was **Kallatis** (Fig. 7). As this lies under the modern town **Mangalia**, attention has been paid mainly to the necropoleis, which produce burials from the 4th C^t BC onwards. The two ancient

harbour-moles, now underwater, have been studied, with the conclusion that they made use of a small natural bay (M. Lazarov, *Potynolata Flotilia*, Varna 1975, 136-8; Bounegru, *Pontica* 19 (1986) 267-72; C. Preda, *TP IV*, 162-5). The territory of Kallatis, which stretched from Shabla (Karön Limen) to the S, as far as Tuzla to the N, is the subject of a long article by Avram (*Dacia* 35 (1991) 103-37) who also discusses the constitution of the city from the epigraphic evidence (*Das Schwarze Meer I*, in press). Roads in the environs of Kallatis dating to the Roman period are traced by Stefan (*St. Class.* 22 (1984) 95-107). A survey of the trading links of Kallatis during the H period is undertaken, using the epigraphic evidence, by Dorutsiu-Boila (*SCIVA* 39.3 (1988) 243-9). Some twenty cities, most within the Black Sea area, but some outside, were involved. Terracottas, to add to the large numbers already known from Kallatis, continue to be found - Eros, Nike, Aphrodite and Dionysos figurines among them, dating to the 4th-3rd C^{ts} BC (Bardaleanu-Zavatin,

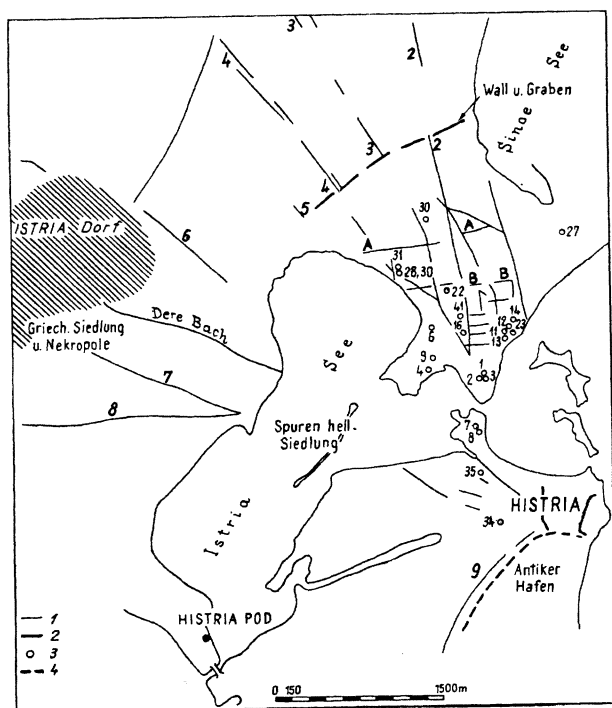


FIG. 8

Pontica 18 (1985) 85-95). Considerable activity has been directed towards the study of amphora-stamps from Kallatis (by Buzoianu and Poenaru-Bordea, *Pontica* 16 (1983) 149-88; 17 (1984) 51-60; 18 (1985) 55-74; 19 (1986) 61-74; 20 (1987) 53-78; *BCH Suppl. XIII* 335-51, 407-15). These include special studies of Thasian, Herakleiot and Rhodian imports. The site at **Albești** inland of Kallatis has also produced numerous amphora stamps (Radulescu and Barbulescu, *Pontica* 19 (1986) 33-60; 20 (1987) 53-78). In Kallatis recently a temenos area was discovered by chance (excavated by Radulescu) where remains of temples and altars were found (M. Coja, in J. Descoedres (ed.) *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, Canberra/Oxford 1990, 164). The above-mentioned settlement at Albești was defended successively by 4th Ct BC and H walls. The prolific amount of imported and native pottery reflects its importance in the region (Radulescu *et al.* 'Santerul arheologic Albești 1978', *Materiali și Cercetări Arheologice*, Oradea 1979, 169-74). Of some 14 settlements on the coast and inland of Kallatis, none has produced material earlier than this from Albești. This observation, perhaps more than the fact that the earliest find from Kallatis itself is a bg bolsal of the late 5th/-early 4th Ct BC (*SCIV* 15.4, 545-9) makes it likely that Kallatis' origins lay in the time of Amyntas, father of Philip, rather than during the reign of the earlier Amyntas in the late 6th Ct (Ps. Scymnus, ii. 760-4). Burials found in Kallatis and in its hinterland include one with Scythian elements in the inventory, which should be no surprise in view of what HL sources say about Scythians around the nearby city of Tomoi/Tomis (Avram, *Dacia* 35 (1991) 127-9).

Tomoi/Tomis. The large modern city of **Constanța** overlies Tomis. In spite of this a hut of wattle-and-daub technique of the earliest period is now reported; it contained some E Greek pottery of the 6th Ct BC (Radulescu and Papuc, paper prepared for *Vani VI* 1990). For the early period at Tomis papers were

delivered by P. Alexandrescu and C. Preda at the Constanța Conference celebrating 2,500 years of the city 3-5 June 1991. Arrow money and Istrian cast bronze coins have been found during excavations in the Cathedral Park (B. Mitrea, *Dacia* 20 (1976) 288, No. 9; C. Scorpan, *SC Num.* 7 (1980) 25-34). A corpus of the Greek and Latin inscriptions from Tomis is now available (J. Stoian, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae* II, Bucharest, 1987). Import of amphoras in the 4th Ct BC and H times has come in for particular study (Buzoianu, *Pontica* 15 (1982) 137-51; *BCH Suppl. XIII* 405-17; *Pontica* 17 (1984) 51-60; M. Lazarov, *Thrac. Congress II*, 1980, 171ff). Of particular interest for Tomis but also for the situation in the Rumanian Dobrogea generally in the 1st Ct AD is the study of Ovid's *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* (A. Podosinov, *Ovids Dichtung als Quelle für die Geschichte des Schwarzmeergebietes*, *Xenia* 19, 1987). Ovid's understanding of the terms Scythia, Sarmatae and Getae in terms of the ethnogeography obtaining around Tomis had already been studied by Podosinov in *Drevneishye Gosudarstva na Territorii SSSR, Materialy* 1975, Moscow 1976. Third Ct BC imitations of Lysimachus coins and four bronze coins of Akrosas, a local Scythian king, struck at Tomis c 225-200 BC were found in a hoard at **Bulgarevo** (T. Gerasimov, *SC Num.* 6, 25ff). The dates of other Scythian rulers issuing coins also seem to fit here (M Price, *SNG IX* pl. IX). Several burial groups of H and R date have been published (V. Lungu and C. Chera, *Pontica* 19 (1986) 89-114). A general survey of the city of Tomis and the religious cults attested on coins and inscriptions is provided by B. Isaac (*Greek Settlements in Thrace...* 266-8).

Istria. Situated behind a long sandbar on Lake Sinoe, many kilometres S of the southernmost arm of the Danube (Fig. 8) Istria continues to be the subject of much study and published work. Vol. VI of *Histria* (Al. Suceveanu *et al.* eds.) appeared in 1982 on the 'Roman Baths' area; Vol. VII deals with early remains from the temple area. Most recently a collection of essays on various aspects of the city has been published as *Xenia* 26 - *Histria, Eine Griechenstadt an der Rumänischen Schwarzmeerküste*, eds. P. Alexandrescu and W. Schuller, Konstanz 1990. This contains contributions on the A period, the city's territory, stone sculpture of all periods, Istria's R period and its LR fortifications, and contains a full bibliography of works on the site down to 1988. P. Alexandrescu reconsiders two Euboean LG sherds and other pottery from Istria in the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology (*St. Class.* 28 (1988) 110-16; *Melanges Lévêque*, *DHA* 1989, 1-8). In a series of articles he traces Istria's A stage (*Pontica* 18 (1985) 41-54; 19 (1986) 19-32) relations with the surrounding Getai (*Tskhaltubo-Vani IV* 281-94) its *floruit* in the 5th-4th Cts (*Vani V* 1987) and its constitution as reported by Aristotle (*St. Class.* 24 (1986) 73-70). The archaeological evidence for relations between the Istrianoi and the Getai peoples of the Dobrogea is summarised by M. Coja (in Descoedres ed., *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, 1990, 157-68). The importance of copper and iron deposits located within 30km of Istria is stressed by Poenaru-Bordea and Oberlander-Tirnovanu (*Actes du II Congrès Thracologie II* (1978) 141). Istria harbour is shown to have been closed by the sandbank only in the 6th Ct AD (*St. Class.* 26 (1988) 67-79). A corpus of inscriptions of the city and surrounding region has been published (D. Pippidi *et al.* *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae. Vol. I. Histria*, Bucharest, 1983). To this should be added that of Dioskorides, son of Strouthion, of H date (*St. Class.* 21 (1983) 23-6) and others published by Moretti (*St. Class.* 24 (1986) 21-6). Pippidi also publishes fragmentary decrees, and dedications



FIG. 9

to Apollo Pholeuterios, Phorkys and the Nymphs (*SCIVA* 33.1, 182, 35-46). The well-known family of Hippolokhos, son of Theodotos, priests of Apollo Ietros in the late 5th Ct BC, is provided with a revised genealogy by Alexandrescu-Vianu (*SCIVA* 39.3, 1988). The organization of the city's rural territory in H times is considered by Stefan (*SCIVA* 33.2 199-208).

Avram returns to the theme of relations with the Getai in the A period, suggesting that certain subsidiary settlements served as *emporion* (A. Avram, *St. Class.* 27 (1991) 19-30). Importation of A faience vessels is studied by Domaneantu (*Dacia* 32 (1988) 21-5). The arrow-money noted in the areas of Apollonia and Tomis appears around Istria too (Poenaru-Bordea, *Internat. Num. Congress* (1986) 89-90). Some 700 pieces were found in a hoard at Vişina about 10km W of **Orgamē** - Cape Dolojman (Manucu-Adameşteanu, *SCN* 8 (1984) 17-24; C. Preda, *Klio* 73 (1991) 20-7). Orgamē was a sub-colony of Istria or a mixed settlement of Greeks and Getai, whose exact status is unclear. Excavations of the 1980s are discussed by M. Coja and Manucu-Adameşteanu, *Akten des XII Internat. Congr. Arch. Class. Praktika*, Athens 1985, 169-75). At least twelve settlements are known to have existed on the sea-coast and on the estuaries of the E Dobrogea by the 6th Ct BC. Orgamē, where E Greek pottery of the 7th-6th Ct BC has been found is supposed to have had a special trading role as an *emporion*. (M. Coja, in Descoedres (ed. *Greek Colonists* ..., 162-65). The coins of Istria in the British Museum, London are now published by M. Price (*SNG IX* - pl. VIII). Distribution of the cast bronze 'wheel' coins of Istria and of the silver within

the NW hinterland of the Black Sea has been plotted by A. Zaginailo (*Mat. ASP* 8 (1976) 72, 79ff); to which add Papasima (*Pontica* 16 (1983) 283-4). Olbian coins also found their way into the Lower Danube area (C. Preda, *SC Num.* 7, 1980). B. Mitrea sees in the wheel on the cast bronze both a Thracian sun-symbol and a reference to Apollo Ietros (*Pontica* 15 (1982) 89-97).

The Istrian silver coin-type with the two youthful heads, presented almost full face *tête-bêche* (Fig. 9) is interpreted by Zaginailo as Helios rising and setting (*Pamyatniki Drevnyego Iskusstva Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kiev 1986, 93-6) and as the heads of Getic slaves, trade-items of Istria, like the silphium seeds of Kyrene and amphoras on coins of Thasos (Hind, *TP V*, 1991, *resumé* 18). Trade bulks large in Istrian studies. It is suggested that **Tariverde** was an *emporion* for the trans-Danubian Getai (C. Preda, *Pontica* 5 (1972) 77-88). Excavations were resumed there by Avram in 1985, who has also excavated at Cugeleac in 1984-5 and 1987-8. For a report on the recent excavations at **Histria Pod**, see K. Zimmerman, A. Avram, *Klio* 69 (1987) 6-27. Greek imports into the plain of Braila are plotted and discussed by Sirbu (*Pontica* 15 (1982) 99-124) and more widely into Rumania (*Pontica* 16 (1983) 43-67; *TP II* (1985) 243-71). The pattern of goods imported by the Getai and Tyrageitai into the Lower Danube area, is the subject of a study by I. Nikulitze (*TP IV* (1991) 197-204) including three maps). Amphoras from various Greek centres found at Istria itself are discussed by M. Coja (*BCH Suppl. XIII* (1985) 417-50). Thasian amphoras have been given a preliminary survey and a full study by Avram (*Klio* 70 (1988) 404-11; *Thracian Amphora Stamps from Histria*, unpublished, a list of 967 stamps from Istria and its environs). A reinterpretation of one amphora stamp leads Avram to identify the long-disputed amphora-type 'Solokha I' (Fig. 10) as from Kos (*Dacia* 33 (1989) 247-52). A revision of the Sinopian amphoras of group IV by Conovici puts them c. 280-260 BC (*SCIVA* 40, 1 (1989) 29-44). Among individual finds at Istria are several architectural pieces, which have received detailed treatment, a piece of A cornice (*Dacia* 35 (1991) 93-101) pieces of Ionic column capitals (*Histria, Xenia* 25, 103-54) and decorative terracotta

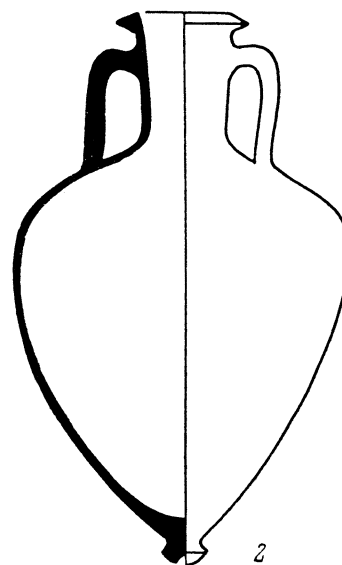


FIG. 10



FIG. 11

tiles and simas (*Xenia* ... 155-77). The main periods of Istria's defensive walls are determined as follows (1) c. 575-500 BC; (2) c. 450-350/325 BC; (3) c. 300 BC-1st Ct AD; (4) 2nd Ct AD-mid 3rd CtAD (*Xenia* 25, 270). Defended settlements of various kinds, and the defence of territory, are discussed by Avram and Nistor (*SCIIVA* 33, 4 (1982) 365-75). Isaac (*Greek Settlements* ... 268-78) gives a brief account of Istria down to the mid 1980s from the point of view of the ancient historian.

FORMER USSR, UKRAINE

The tributary rivers of the Danube and the W boundaries of Scythia, as conceived by Herodotus, are treated at some length by A. Vulpe (*TP IV*, 177-96). The island of **Leukē**, lying 45km NE of the Danube delta out in the Black Sea is that sea's only non-off-shore island. Unique on that score, it attracted *emporoi* from the 6th Ct onwards, and became the centre of a cult of Achilles Pontarkes. Sensitive in modern times on security grounds, only since 1989-90 has it been the object of renewed archaeological attention by the Odessa Archaeological Museum and the Institute of Archaeology at Kiev. Some sherds of Fikellura pottery with crescents and lotus-and-bud decoration, and an Attic bf kylix, are reported. Chiot amphoras of the 'swollen-neck' type and H forms of amphoras were found underwater, along with one stone anchor-stock and four lead ones. In 1988 some fragments of a stone relief, on which was carved the wing of a griffin, were found (Ostroverkhov and Okhotnikov, *IRBS V*, Rostov 1990, 8-9; *Vani VI* (1990) in press). In 1989 a replica of an anc. Greek vessel, built at Odessa, was sailed via Leukē island through the Black Sea to Greece. The evidence for the god Achilles was studied by H.

Hommel (*Der Gott Achilles, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1980). It is now argued that Leukē is the notional location of the legendary scene on the Portland Vase in the British Museum (Fig. 11) on which Achilles, Helen and Aphrodite are depicted, Helen being identified by the reed-torch (*helenē*) which she holds, and the clue to the scene being in the tree, which is a white poplar, *leukē* (Hind, *VDI* (1994); *JHS* (1995) in press). From this island site as far as the city of **Gorgippia** (Asiatic side of Bosphoros) there is a good survey of archaeological activity down to the early 1980s in G. Koshelenko (ed). *Antichnye Goroda Severnogo Prichernomorya*, Moscow, 1984 (= *AGSP*) and a historian's account by J.G. Vinogradov, in *Antichnaya Gretsia*, I, Moscow 1983. The collection, *Arkheologia Ukrainskoi SSR*, II, Kiev 1986, also contains sections on the N Black Sea cities, as does briefly the *History of Europe (Istoria Evropy I*, Moscow 1988, at 212-16, 373-8, 512-33 and 818-29).

Tyras (**Belgorod Dniestrovsky**) and **Nikonion (Roxolanskoie)** (Fig. 12) lie on either side of the Dniester Liman. The existence of more than one township on the estuary may explain why Herodotus (IV.51) mentions *Tyritai* there, not a single *Tyras polis*. Ps-Scymnus gives an indication of the motivation of at least some of the Greeks there by describing them as *emporoi*, drawn by the good fishing (II. 796-800). Soviet work at these two sites up to the early 1980s is summarised by V. Pruglo (in G. Koshelenko, *AGSP* (1984) 26-30). Dolgorukov in a recent account of Soviet archaeology on the Black Sea could only be very sketchy on Tyras (*Antiquity* 67 (1993) 154). Recent books on Tyras are by P. Karyshkovsky and L. Kleiman (*Drevny Gorod Tyras*, Odessa 1985), and by T.L. Samoilova (*Tyra v VI-I vyeekakh do n.e.*, Kiev 1988). The silver coins of Tyras of the mid-4th Ct BC are the first signs of a city at Belgorod (M. Price, *SNG IX* (1993) pl. XII). Kleiman surveys the earliest material from the site—some E Greek kylix-sherds, lamps and a skyphos of the 6th-5th Cts BC (*Vani VI*, in press). The E part of the cape at Belgorod was cut off by a defensive wall in the 4th Ct BC., which was then replaced by a more extensive one, adding an area to the S. This included a round tower and stretches of curtain wall and dated to the 3rd-2nd Cts BC. In this wall was found the base for a bronze statue of one Autokles of the 4th Ct BC. He was a Tyritan, son of Oiniades, who had been honoured for undertaking a mission to Istria; he may have negotiated some resettlement at Tyras of settlers from Nikonion. In the E part of the cape houses of H date and of the 2nd Ct AD were found. A fragment of a marble relief bearing a warrior holding an oval shield is given separate publication (*AO* (1983) 283; L. Kleiman, *Novye Issledovania po Arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomorya*, Kiev 1987, 46-52). For the R period, stamped tiles of *legio V Macedonica*, *XI Claudia*, and *I Italica*, and a marble plaque, dedicated to Asklepios and Hygieia by Roman *medici*, are the most distinctive finds. A one-mina weight and a piece of a measuring vessel bore the names of *agoranomoi*. Preliminary reports are in *AO* (1983) 282-3; 1984, 242-3; 1985, 337-8; 1986, 282-3.

Nikonion, some 4km N of Tyras across the estuary, seems to have flourished in the late 6th-5th Cts, in the 4th-early 3rd Cts, and again in the first two Cts AD. Agbunov discusses its location across the Liman, arguing that it was originally on the left bank of the N branch of a two-armed delta, where a series of small subsidiary settlements existed (*Arkheologia* 39 (1979) 13-19; *KSIA* 191 (1987) 3-6). Sekerskaya publishes A pottery from there (*MASP* 8 (1976) 89-94) and discusses the relations

between Nikonion and the native Tyragetai (*Vani VI*, 1990, in press). It never issued its own coinage, and no inscriptions other than graffiti have been found there. It was, however, furnished with a defensive wall, uncovered in the NW part of the upper terrace, which had a thickness of just over 1m, and of which the construction is dated to c. 475-50 BC. Six pit-shelters (*zemlyanki*) of this period were found. Houses of the late 4th-early 3rd Cts BC followed. Imports of amphoras in the 5th-early 4th Cts BC were largely from Chios, Thasos, Lesbos, Athens, Samos, Mende and Herakleia. Later the import was mainly from Sinope and Chersonesos. Some 20 burials of the period were excavated E of this area; three had skulls crushed, perhaps violently in warfare. Very interesting are the coins of the Scythian king Skyles found in three denominations at Nikonion —the legend ΣΚ, ΣΚΥ, ΣΚΥΑ is found, to the right of an owl on the two larger coin-types. Some were found in a recess in the basement of a dwelling c. 450-425 BC (P.O. Karyshkovsky, *Kimmeritsy i Skiphy*, Kirovograd 1987, 66-8; V. Anokhin, *Monety Antichnykh Gorodov Severnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kiev 1989, 75-9; Sekerskaya, *Vani VI*, in press, resumé). Skyles probably had some kind of protectorate over Nikonion, which so far is the only place where these coins have been found. The wheel-motif on the other side of the coins links them with the well-known cast coins of Istria. The economy of Nikonion may well have been geared to at least some export of grain; the 200 grain-storage pits found are estimated to have catered for much more than local needs (Z. Yanushevich, *Kulturnye Rasteniya Severnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kishinev 1986, 37-8). An early cult-centre has been found, where there was a platform paved with mud bricks, displaying traces of fire (Sekerskaya, *Novye Issledovania ...* 27-38). Native settlements in the lower Dniester River region are the subject of a number of articles and a monograph by S.B. Okhotnikov

(*Issledovania po Antichnoi Arkheologii Yugo-Zapada USSR*, Kiev 1980, 89-94; *Materialy po Arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kiev 1983, 101-19; *Nizhnyeye Podnyestrovye v VI-V vyekakh do n.e.*, Kiev, 1990).

The influence of *Istria* this far up the coast is now generally recognized, with not only her coins found here (sv Zaginailo, under *Istria*) but also because of the coastal site, named *Istrianōn Limen* (A. Avram, *St. Class.* 27 (1991) 23). On this coast towards Borysthenes/Olbia lay *Ordessos*, perhaps on the right bank of the Tiligul estuary, at Kosharskoye (excavations of E. Levina, *Odessa Arch. Mus.*). This had an area of some four hectares, and dated from the early 4th- to the mid-3rd Cts BC. There was some regular street-planning. Imported amphoras were from Chios, Herakleia, Thasos, Sinope. Alongside much hand-made Scythian pottery there was found a fine rf 'Kerch-Style' krater with an Amazonomachy and a terracotta figurine of a drunken Herakles, dating to c. 400-350 BC. Some 40 burials were uncovered, including cremations, pit-burials and burials under tumuli. A marble stele and a limestone altar are reported. It is suggested that this site may be an outlying township of the Olbian polis. Perhaps they were some of the *Kallipidai/Hellenoskythai*, known to Herodotus, and mentioned as *Mixhellenes* in the Protogenes inscription.

Berezan Island/Borysthenes lies something over 2km across shallow water from the mainland. The map published in *Arch. Reps.* 1983-84 (fig. 9), was in some respects inaccurate, especially in its location of the excavations of Gorbunova 1962-66, which should be on the coast E of the main section 'A' (Von Stern) and in showing the necropolis as extending too far up the NW coast of the island (Fig. 13). Since 1962 the excavations have been led by J. Domansky of the Hermitage in Leningrad and work has also been carried out by S. Mazar-

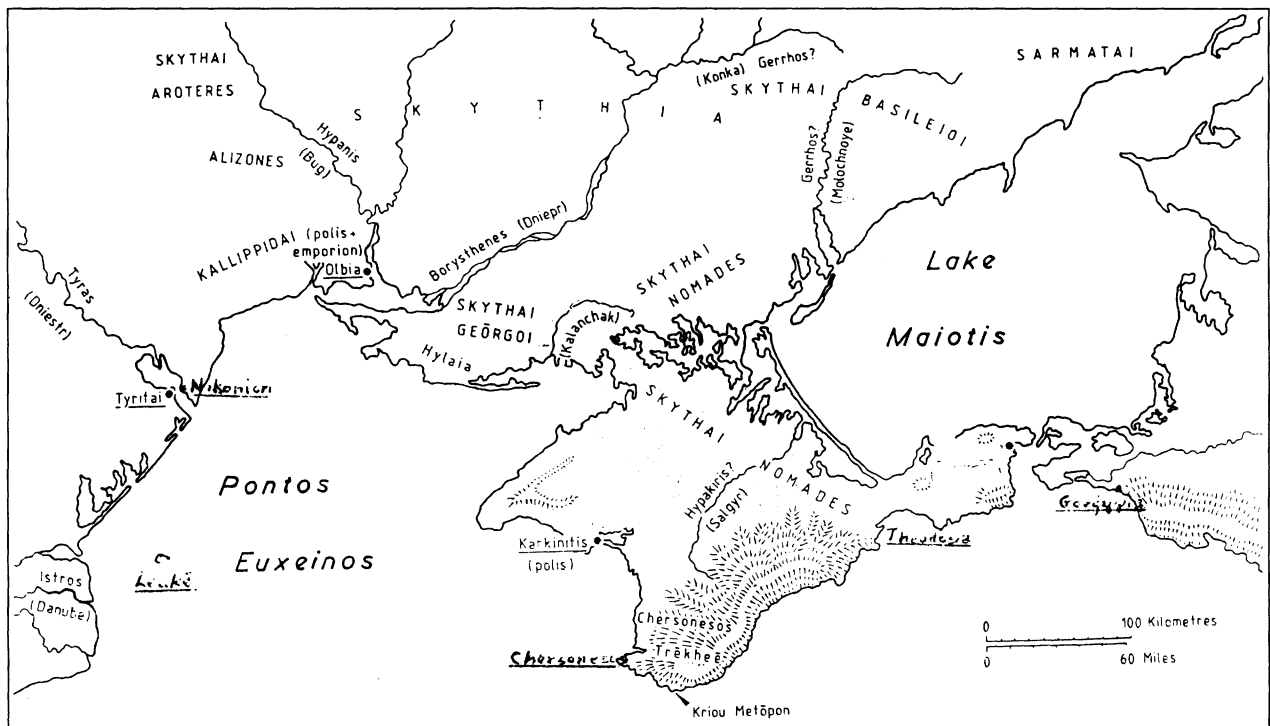


FIG. 12

ati and V. Nazarov of the Institute of Archaeology at Kiev. Excavation in the necropolis is summarised by J.G. Vinogradov (Domansky, Vinogradov, S.L. Solovyev, *Drevniye Pamyatniki Kultury na Territorii SSSR*, Leningrad 1986, 25-32; *Itogi Arkheologicheskikh Ekspeditsii Gosudarstvennogo Hermitagea*, Leningrad 1989, 38-60). Brief reports on the main activities and finds on Berezan appeared in *AO* (1982) 257; (1983) 272; (1984) 205; (1985) 328; (1986) 275. A recent summary in French is given by Vinogradov, Domansky, Marchenko in *Le Pont Euxin vu par les Grecs ...* 123-8). The A necropolis in the NW of the island seems now to have been fully excavated, with some 213 burials excavated in 1976-80, and another 150 in 1982-90, over and above the 600 or so unearthed by Skadovsky in 1900-1. Several of the dead found in 1987 had been killed by arrows (in all about 5% had been killed in this way). Roughly two-thirds to three-quarters or more of the burials were in the extended position, one quarter or fewer were crouched. Generally no weapons were included in the inventory, which consisted of small imported vases, Chian jugs, Ionian gutti, Corinthian aryballoi etc., knives, needles and whetstones, silver rings, ear-rings, and 'dolphin-shaped' coins. The absence of burials of the 7th-early 6th Ct BC is explained by the calculation that the W coast of that part of the island has been eroded away by some 26m in the last 90 years, and that the land behind the earlier coastline held the earliest graves. In the settlement in the NE part of the island as many as 55 more pit-shelter dwellings have been found. One of the earliest contained late 7th Ct pottery and was overlaid by later structures; one had a mud-brick wall sub-division, proving its function as a dwelling. One with an area of 27 sq.m also had elements of stone-wall orthostat construction. The later phase of stone socles and mud-brick walls in the latter half of the 6th Ct BC is well represented by a block of nine houses, c. 40m N-S and 60m E-W. One house had an area of 250 sq.m., a paved court and five rooms; it was fitted out with an altar of limestone slabs, a well and a domestic pit. A paved street ran within the block, and others were on either side. The buildings of this phase seemed to last to c. 470-460 BC, and the excavators connect this with the decline of the Olbian *khōra*-settlements in general. Some finds of R date, though relatively few, (Xenophontova, *TGH* 24 (1984) 136-46) and some of med times, were also made (*AO* (1986) 265). The types of dwelling found on Berezan are dealt with by S.D. Kryzhitsky, *Zhilye Doma Antichnykh Gorodov Severnogo Prichernomor'ya VI Vyek do n.e. - IV vyek n.e.*, Kiev 1982, 26-31). The very rich finds of A imported pottery are surveyed by L. Kopeikina (*Soob. GOS. Hermitagea* (1979) 7-25; *Khudozhestvennye Izdelya Antichnykh Masterov*, Leningrad 1982, 6-35; *Arkheologicheskii Sbornik Gos. Hermitagea* 27 (1986) 27-47). A marble herm is published by N. Lagachova and I. Snytko, *Pamyatniki Drevnyego Iskusstva Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kiev 1986. A terracotta vase in the form of a fish (*AO* (1982) 257) and a statuette of a reclining figure with a rhyton in his left hand (*AO* (1983) 273) are among the outstanding small finds. V. Krapivina studies the A weights from Berezan and Olbia (*Olbia i yeyo Okruga* (1986) 105-11) and Skrzhinskaya the jewellery (*ibid* 113) including that which was found with the small hoard of Ionian electrum coins mentioned in the last report. The coins themselves are published in V.A. Anokhin (*Monety Antichnykh Gorodov Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kiev 1989, pl. I; also P.O. Karyshkovsky, *Monety Olbi*, Kiev 1988, pl. 11, 1-4). A hoard of 31 bronze dolphin coins is mentioned by Domansky (*AO* (1983) 272). A graffito on fragments of an Ionian kylix mentioned *hetkai* (1/6) and *hemihektai* (1/12 staters) (*VDI* (1971) 1, 64-67), and the

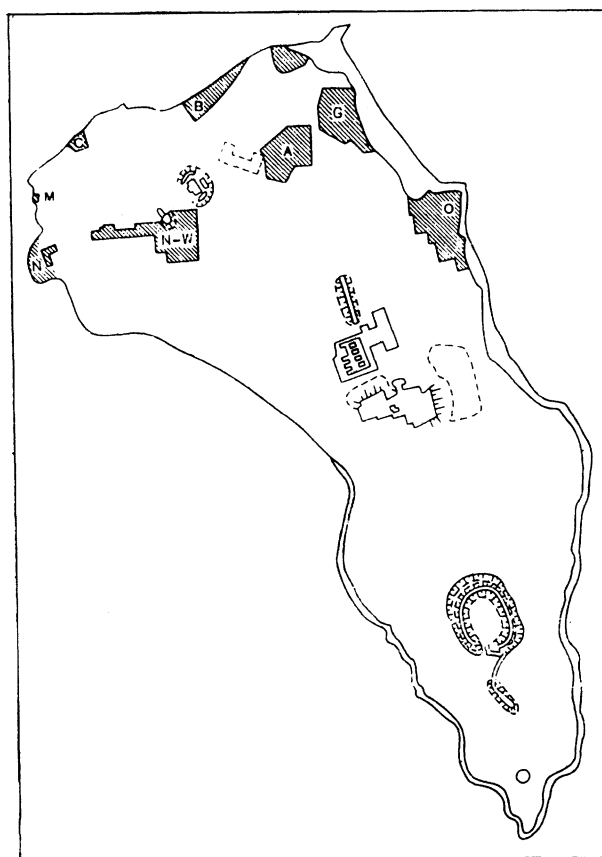


FIG. 13

widespread use of arrowhead coins on Berezan and in Olbia is reflected in a graffito on an Attic bg skyphos found at Olbia (Grakov, *Istoria, Arkheologia i Ethnographia Srednei Azii*, Moscow 1968, 101-15; *VDI* (1971) 3, 125-7). Arrow-coins from the area are studied by Anokhin (*Olbia i yeyo Okruga*, 68-89). In 1984 a bronze object was found, on which was a representation of an arrow-coin (*AO* (1984) 265). Bronze mirrors from Berezan and Olbia belonging to the A period have been treated by Skrzinskaya (*Antichnaya Kultura Severnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kiev 1984, 105-29). Faience scarabs are published by Bolshakov and Ilyina *VDI* (1988) 3, 51-67). An unusual find, belonging to the latest phase of the main settlement, is a white ground lekythos with a representation of warriors in combat (*AO* (1986) 275); more commonly found, however, were bf fragments and Ionian askoi. Inscriptions, graffiti on pot and bone, continue to exercise the ingenuity of scholars, including one on an A E Greek jug, naming it and its owner (Tokhtasyov, *TP II* (1985) 283-96). What seems to be an oracular response on a bone plaque is translated as follows: 'seven: the wolf is weak'; 'seventy: the lion is terrible'; 'seven hundred: the archer is friendly: the gift of the healer's power'; 'seven thousand: the dolphin is wise, peace to Olbia city; I bless it there; I am remembered of Leto'. (A.S. Rusyayeva, *VDI* (1986) 2, 25, W. Burkert, *VDI* (1990) 2, 155-60). The Greek is in letters of c. 550-500 BC. This is supposed to be either a prophetic statement, or an *ex post facto* statement, of stages in the development of Borysthenes/Olbia from being first a weak settlement on Berezan to the later increments in

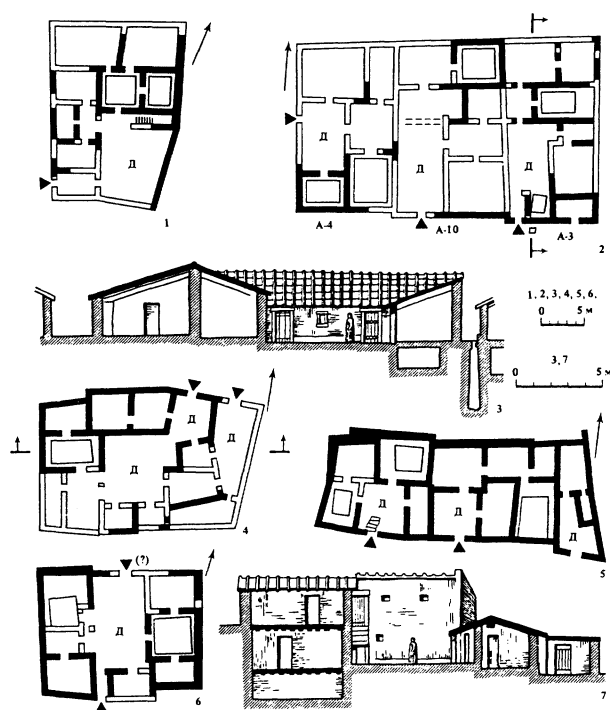


FIG. 14

population and prosperity. Seven is taken to be the sacred number of Apollo; it was part of a general principle in dividing up the known world (ps-Hippocrates, *On Sevens*, ed. Litré (1958) Vol. 8, 639; 9.438). Another inscription on a rolled-up lead plaque (15x4cm) is said to have been found in 1982 (AO, 290). The role played by non-Greeks of Getic and Scythian origin on Berezan is treated by K.K. Marchenko (*Varvary v sostavye Naselenia Berezani i Olvii*, Leningrad 1988). Marchenko argues that not only slaves of Thracian-Getic origin, but also a Getic immigrant population may be represented there, as at another settlement, Kutsurub I, on the mainland (Arkhe. Sbornik Gos. Herm. 27 (1986) 48 ff.; TP IV (1990) 209-12).

Olbia/Olbiopolis (Parutino). As in the 1970s this site was in the early 1980s subjected to much study (Koshelenko *et al.* AGSP (1984) 34-40; Kacharava and Kvirkvelia, *GPPAE*, 1991, 187-201 and very briefly, Dolgorukov, *Antiquity* 67 (1993) 151). There are also a number of books and monographs; J.G. Vinogradov, *Politicheskaya Istoria Olviiskogo Polisa VII-I vyekakh do n.e.*, Moscow 1989; E.I. Levi, *Olvia-Gorod Epokhi Ellinizma*, Leningrad 1985; J.G. Vinogradov and S.D. Kryzhitsky, *Olbia-Altgriechischer Stadt in Nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraum*, Brill, Leiden, in press. A collection of articles (*Olvia i yeyo Khōra*, Kiev 1986, 3-68) deals with the development of the city, in particular the area of private housing SW of the agora, and with a number of settlements within the *khōra*, such as Shirokaya Balka and Luparevo II. Aspects of the history of Olbia in the H period were treated in papers given at *Tskhaltubo III* 1985—one generally on the city by Leipunskaia (220-32), one by Domansky (233-42) on relations with the Scythians, and one by Marchenko on slave and dependent elements in the Olbian population (242-55).

The architecture characteristic of the various periods at Olbia (Fig. 14) is the subject of a monograph by S.D. Kryzhitsky (*Olvia-Istoriographicheskoye Issledovaniye Arkhitekturno-Stroitelnykh Kompleksov*, Kiev 1985, 190 pp). Kryzhitsky also summarises the evidence for the colonisation of the Lower Bug area (*Vani VI* in press). Coinage, from the cast bronze coins and the EMINAKO silver of the 5th-4th Cts BC to the bronze of the 3rd Ct AD is presented in P.O. Karyshkovsky's numismatic monograph (*Monety Olvii*, Kiev 1988) and in V.A. Anokhin's book (*Monety Antichnykh Gorodov Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomorya*, Kiev 1989, 5-74) which also covers the mints at Tyras, Nikonion and Kerkinitis. The Olbian coins in the British Museum, London are now presented accessibly and on clear plates (M. Price, *SNG IX* (1993) pl. XIII-XXVII). The EMINAKO coins are discussed by Karyshkovsky (*Ranny Zhelezny Vyek Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomorya*, Kiev 1984, 78-89). Curiously, the Skyles-coins mentioned above have so far been found only at Nikonion. Olbian coinage in the long period down to its sack by the Getai in the mid-1st Ct BC is discussed by Karyshkovsky (*PDISZ*, Kiev 1986, 96-125). The grave-goods from the A Greek necropolis, excavated in the days of Pharmakovsky and long held in the Hermitage, Leningrad, are now published by V.M. Skudnova (*Arkhaicheskyy Nekropol Olvii*, Leningrad 1988). Terracottas from Olbia are a large part of the monograph by A.S. Rusyayeva (*Antichnye Terrakotty Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomorya*, Kiev 1982).

Recent excavations have been conducted in the Lower City, the Upper City near the *dikasterion*, the second temenos, the S acropolis, the W Gates, the W 'suburb' of the 5th Ct BC, the necropolis and the settlements of the *khōra*, of which there are brief summaries in *Arkheologicheskiye Otkrytiya* (AO (1982) 246, 293; (1983) 269, 291; (1984) 233, 258; (1985) 327, 402; (1986) 259). In the S part of the Lower Town buildings of the 4th-3rd Cts were found, covered by a land-slip. The area N of this yielded buildings of the 5th Ct BC to the 1st Ct AD. The area of the supposed theatre also suffered a land-slip. No A layers were found in the Lower Town, a fact which has led to the suggestion that it was occupied later than the Upper Town. The street-network was on two different alignments, showing that there was no uniform Hippodamian system. The N defensive wall of the Lower Town was dedicated by an inscription of the 2nd Ct BC to the deities Demeter, Kore, Pluto and the Demos (N.A. Leipunskaia, *Arkheologia*, Kiev 1990, 3, 117-22). In the S part of the Upper Town, the so-called 'Roman citadel', excavations continued throughout 1982-90. The main buildings on the terraced slope were of the 1st-3rd Cts AD. Remains of a Doric portico were perhaps from a temple of the first two Cts AD. Two destruction-layers, concentrated in the 3rd Ct AD, are probably the traces of Gothic attacks. Relatively slight remains of the late 3rd-early 4th Cts AD were found in this area, but this was the first time that they have appeared in any quantity. At the early end of the chronological range some pit-shelters and refuse-pits of the second half of the 6th-first half of the 5th Cts BC were excavated with accompanying pottery. Outside the NW sector of the walls excavation of the necropolis (1st-2nd Ct AD) and of the 'pit-shelter' suburb was directed by J. Kozub, *Klio* 63 (1981) 215-31; K.K. Marchenko, *VDI* (1982) 3.126-52; (1983) 1). The discovery of a second, Western temenos, separated from the first by a 'Sacred Way' in the Upper City, is probably the most interesting development on the site at Olbia in the 1980s (A.S. Rusyayeva, *From Scythia to Siberia - Journal of Ancient Civilizations Vol. I*, Leiden 1993, in press). The second temenos is earlier than the first, dating from c 575-550 BC. The shrines were of Apollo Ietros, Meter, Hermes and Aphrodite;

numerous graffiti mentioning the Dioskouroi indicate either another unlocated shrine, or that they were associated with one of the above. Some architectural terracottas of splendid quality were found (Rusyayeva, *ADSP* (1988) 33-51). Apart from numerous graffiti mentioning Apollo, there was also a pedestal-base, bearing the unique inscription, 'To Apollo Ietros, lord of the Ister'. (Rusyayeva, *ADSP* (1988) 166-74). Many altars of varied form and sacred pit-bothroi were also found, and somewhere in the vicinity a bronze-foundry was located.

The question of the relationship of the name Borysthene to Olbia has been discussed by Skrzhinskaya (*VDI* (1981) 3, 142-6). A bone plaque with a graffito dating to c. 550 BC suggests that at that date the city was called Borysthene (*VDI* (1986) 396). Kryzhitsky and Otreshko sketch the early development of the *polis* (*Olvia i yeyo Khōra* (1986) 3-17). Kryzhitsky suggests that the first small settlements synoecised at Olbia in the third quarter of the 6th Ct BC (*Vani VI* in press). Vinogradov and Karyshkovsky join two fragments of the decree for Kallinikos, son of Euxenos, who is seen to have been granted a statue and 1,000 gold coins for, so it is suggested, having saved Olbia from the siege by Zopyrion, Alexander's general (*VDI* (1982) 4, 26-46; (1983) 1.21-38). Denisova publishes a verse epitaph (4th Ct BC) of a seven-year old girl, Parthenis (*SA* (1988) 1.251-6) and there are four new dedication-inscriptions to Zeus Eleutherios, Zeus Olympios, Apollo Delphinios

and to 'All the Gods' (Rusyayeva and Krapivina (*PAC Simf.* 269-70). Vinogradov surveys the early grave-inscriptions from Olbia (*AA* 1991). The situation at Olbia in the latter half of the 3rd Ct BC is discussed by Vinogradov in connection with the honorary decree for Anthesterios. The Magistracy of 'The Seven', the *Sitometria*, and the mixed populations around the *polis* known variously as *Mixhellēnes* and *Migades Hellēnes* are considered (*VDI* (1984) 1.51-80). The articles by Marchenko on the *Kallipidai*, also called *Hellenoskythai* by Herodotus, should be mentioned in this connection (*SA* (1983) 1; *Tskhaltubo III* (1985) 242-56). Yailenko gives an up-to-date overall account of Olbia in the H period (G. Koshelenko *et al.* (ed.) *Ellinism-Ekonomika, Politika, Kultura*, Moscow 1990, 249-83). Of individual finds, the architectural details, fragments of Doric frieze and capitals, and of an Ionic base, require mention (A. Buiskikh, *ADSP* (1988) 51-71). A marble column was found by the W Gates (*Arkheologia* (1992) 3, 143-7). A rf kylix of the early 4th Ct (N. Sazonova, *ADSP* 183-8) and a rare painted amphora of the 3rd Ct BC with scenes of Hermes, Charon and the deceased (a young girl) have received special attention (K. Zaitseva, *SA* (1989) 1, 178-89). The imported glass, cowrie and miniature bone-amulets are studied by Ostroverkhov (*PAC Simf.* (1988) 261-2).

Eight phases of Olbia's history are distinguished by Vinogradov down to the 'Roman' period: (1) Second half of the 7th Ct; foundation of Berezan to foundation of Olbia; (2) First half of 6th Ct; settlement of the *khōra* opposite Berezan and around Yagorlyk; 'dictatorship of the *oikistes*'; (3) Second half of 6th Ct-first quarter of 5th; expansion of the *polis* and *Khōra*; (4) c. 475-430 BC; Rule of tyrant at Olbia and Scythian protectorate; (5) c. 430-330 BC; Period of 'democracy' at Olbia; (6) c. 330-250 bc; Further development of the city's democracy; siege by Zopyrion and reconstruction of the *polis*; (7) c. 250-150 BC; Crisis period; Rule by élite within the city; Sarmatian nomad protectorate; (8) c. 150-50 BC Olbia under H-type super states—Scythian Skilouros; Mithridates. Sack by the Getai (J.G. Vinogradov, *Politicheskaya Istoria ...* 24). Some of these notions, such as that of a 'dictatorship' of the *oikistēs* under (2) and 'the period of the Olbian tyrant' under (4) may be rather fanciful, but the general lines of periodisation seem to be fair. (Fig. 15 Olbia, Upper City)

Roman involvement at Olbia is thought first to have involved advice and engineering expertise (c. AD 44-49 and 59-60 under governors, A. Didius and T. Plautius Silvanus) which was followed by more direct intervention at the end of the 1st-beginning of the 2nd Cts AD, and by a firmly based garrison drawn from *legiones* I, V and XI in the time of Antoninus Pius. Perhaps Olbia had then the status of *civitas foederata*. The city was still under effective Roman protection in AD 248, and maybe still later in the time of Diocletian, when a soldier dedicated an altar to Jupiter Olbianus at *Tropaeum Traiani* in the Dobrogea (Buiskikh, *IRBS V*, Rostov 1990, 25-27).

The *Khōra* of Olbia. Excavation has been carried out at a considerable number of settlements in the Bug-Dnieper Liman coast-line and hinterland—at *Shirokaya Balka* (by Rusyayeva and Mazarati) at *Kozyrka* (by Buiskikh and Otreshko) at *Chertovatoye* (by Buiskikh, Otreshko and Ruban) and at *Beykush* (by Buiskikh). An unusual (in that it was fortified) settlement of H date has been excavated on the right bank of the Dnieper at *Glubokaya Pristan* (Buiskikh). In the A period settlements were composed mainly of single-chamber pit-shelters, accompanied by domestic pits. The transition to surface stone-socle and mud-brick wall construction is said to be commonly observable during the 5th-early 4th Cts BC. This situation seems to obtain also at *Kutsurub*, SW of Olbia

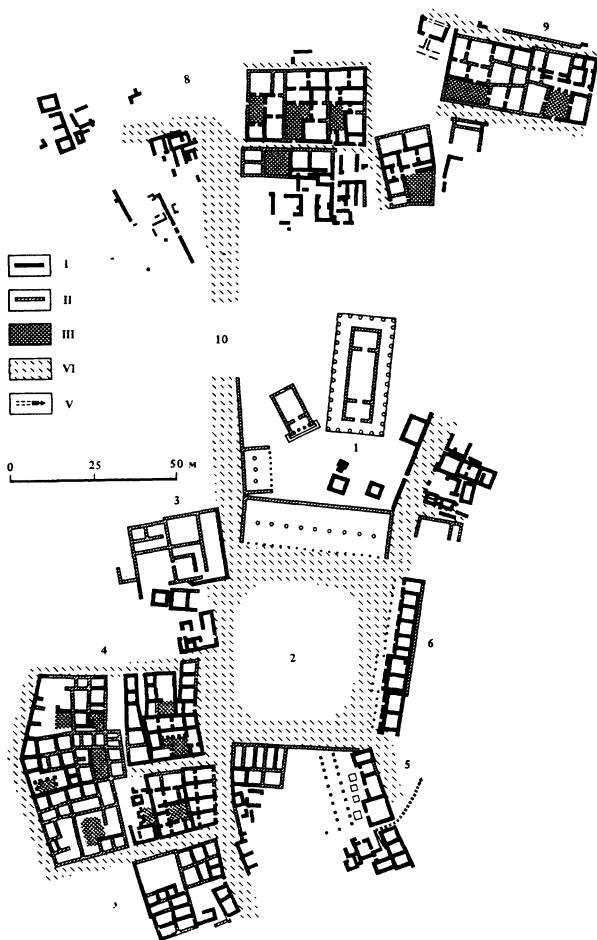


FIG. 15

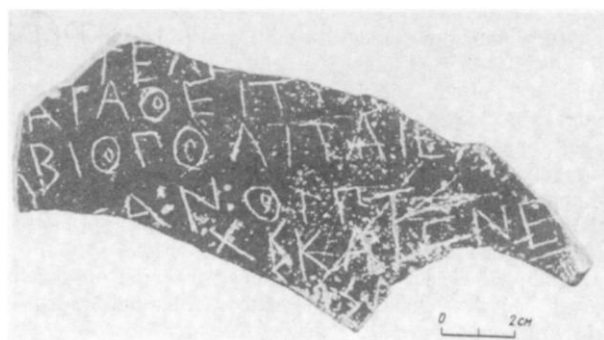


FIG. 16

(Marchenko and Solovyev, *KSIA* 194 (1988) 49-54). A larger and more impressive structure in the *khōra* is published by Marchenko and Domansky (*KSIA* 172 (1982) 58-65). The pattern of settlement in the Lower Bug region, with maps and site-plans, and selections of finds, can be found briefly in G. Koshelenko *et al.* ed. *AGSP* (1984) 40-44 and more fully in a collection of material compiled by a Kiev team of archaeologists. (S.D. Kryzhitsky, S.B. Buiskikh, A.V. Burakov, V.M. Otreshko, *Selskaya Okruga Olvii*, Kiev, 1989). There are 107 known sites belonging to the 6th-early 5th Cts BC, and 157 of the late 5th-mid 1st Ct BC. A sharp falling-away in numbers of settlements in the area is noted during the period c. 475-425 BC, and again from the mid-2nd Ct BC to the turn of the Christian era.

In the NW Crimea and just beyond, Kutaisov locates **Tamyrakē** and **Dandakē** by the Dzharylgach Spit north of Karkinit'sky Gulf and the Bakal Spit to its S. He suggests that there may have been early Ionian settlements at one or both of these (*Vani VI* (1993) in press). In the period c. 400 BC a fortified settlement at Panskoye I, NE of Kalos Limen was seemingly dependent on Olbia; a graffito on bg mentions *Olbiopolitai* (Fig. 16) (A.N. Scheglov, *Problemy Issledovaniya Olvii*, 1985; *DHA* 13 (1987) 245; Rogov, *KSIA* 182 (1985) 45 ff.; Monakhov and Rogov, *AMIA* 8 (1990) 122-51). Excavations have been resumed since 1988 at **Kalos Limen** by V.A. Kutaisov (Inst. of Arch., Kiev). The site is trapezoidal, slightly less than 2.5 hectares. Two main periods are distinguished: (1) 4th Ct-mid 2nd Ct BC, when it was part of the Chersonesite state and had a small citadel in the SE part of the site; (2) c. 150 BC-first half of 1st Ct AD, when it was a Scythian town until abandoned, perhaps in the face of Sarmatian threat. Between 1981 and 1987 a fortified tower (**Bolshoy Kastel**) of the 4th-3rd Cts BC was excavated—it appears to have been part of the expansion process enjoyed by Chersonesos at the time in the NW Crimea. A shrine of the 2nd Ct BC was uncovered at **Dzhangoul** (A. Scheglov, *PAC Simf.*, 273-4; 235-39). Considerable excavation has taken place at **Kerkinitis** (mod. **Eupatoria**) since 1980, conducted from the Institute of Archaeology, Kiev. There has also been a minor explosion of publication of old and new material (*AO* (1984) 259; (1985) 359, 363; V.S. Drachuk, *et al. Kerkinitida-Gözlev-Yevpatoria*, Simferopol 1977; Drachuk and V.A. Kutaisov, *VDI* (1985) 82-7; Kutaisov, *Nekropol' Antichnoi Kerkinitidy: Istoria i Itogi Izucheniya*, Kiev 1989; *Antichny Gorod Kerkinitida*, Kiev 1990). Olbian dolphin coins, found in layers of c. 475-300 BC in 1980 and 1982, point to an early link with Olbia, perhaps as a Milesian *polis* (Hdt. 4.55; 99). The legends on the coins (KA

later **KEPKI**) may suggest first an Ionian, then a Dorian complexion to the city. The coinage is studied by Anokhin (V.A. Anokhin, *ADSP*, Kiev 1988, 133-48; Anokhin, *Monety Antichnykh Gorodov Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomorya*, Kiev 1989, 80-5). Kutaisov will discuss the coins of Kerkinitis in *From Scythia to Siberia - Journal of Ancient Civilisations II*, Leiden, Brill, in press. The implications of Olbian influence reaching this far into the NW Crimea in the 5th Ct BC are discussed by M. Zolotaryov (*VDI* (1986) 2, 88-93) and Kutaisov (*ibid.* 94-7). Successive building phases are noted at Kerkinitis: (1) c. 470-400 BC; (2) c. 400-350 BC; (3) c. 350-c. 125 BC. After this it was captured by the Scythians and re-taken by Mithridates' troops, though by then it was in a ruinous state. Several pit-shelters are thought to pre-date the first organized town, which had an area of some 3.3 hectares on the cape, defended by walls about 1.25-1.5m in thickness. By c. 350 BC a stone wall, 1.5-1.8m thick, protected a larger area. Streets were on a SW-NE axis and continued on the same orientation through several re-buildings. They were about 3.4m wide. The excavators calculate that within the walls there were 17 or 18 blocks, of on average 16 houses, giving a rough estimate of the population at approx. 2,000-2,400 people. A house, dating to c. 350-325 BC, is published by Kutaisov (*SA* (1985) 3, 178-190) and an Hl. house by the same writer (*SA* (1987) 1, 169-82). Terracotta statuettes from Kerkinitis are discussed by Anokhin (*PAC-Simf.* 232-3). An ostrakon on an amphora sherd seems to be a letter from one Apatourios to a Noumēnios, mentioning the need to find out what level of tri-

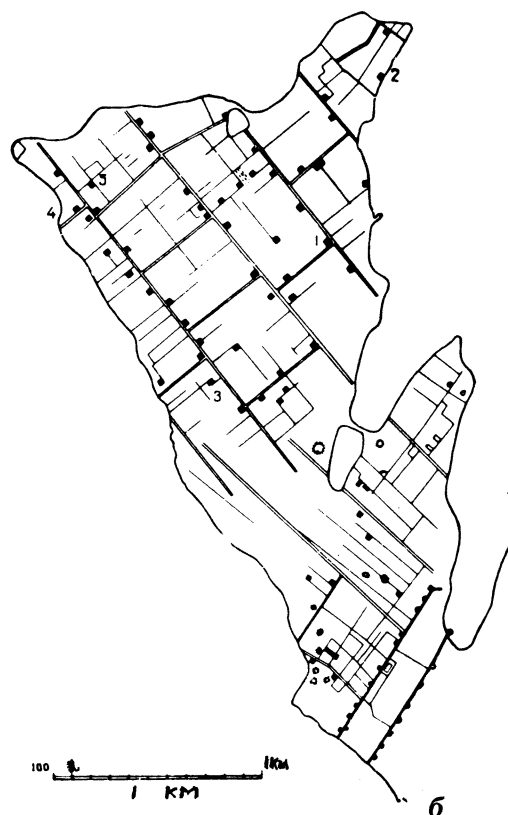


FIG. 17

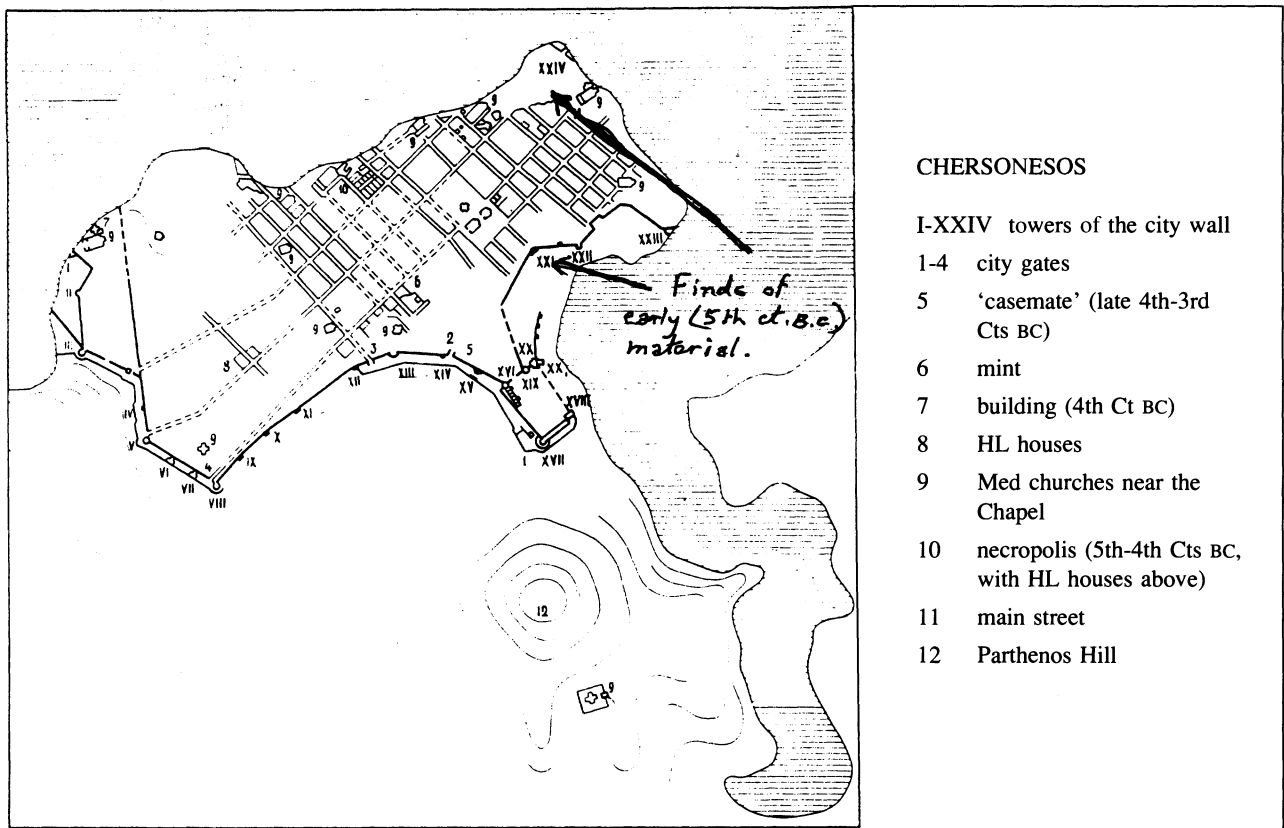


FIG. 18

bute was due to the Scythians (E.I. Solomonik, *VDI* (1987) 3, 114-31). After the late 2nd Ct BC Kerkinitis hardly existed other than as ruins taken over by the Scythians (Kutaisov, *PAC Simf.* 250-5). Vysotskaya attempts to identify the three Scythian forts in the Crimea, which were mentioned by Strabo (7.4.7). She locates **Palakion** at the Ust Alma township, **Khabon** at Kermen-Kyr, and **Neapolis** at Kermenchyk/Simferopol.

The extent of the exploitation by Chersonesos of the *pedion* of the W Crimea in the 4th-2nd Cts BC is the subject of an historical study based on many years of excavation by A.N. Scheglov (*Ellinism-Ekonomika, Politika, Kultura*, Moscow 1990, 310-71). Excavations have been continued at **Belyaus** (Dashevskaya, *AO* 1982-86) and alongside **Yevpatoria** (*AO* (1985) 442). A grave stele of the late 4th Ct BC from **Kulchuk**, a large fortified settlement in the NW Crimea, bears the name Parthenios, son of Syriskos, and shows that this area was already part of the state of Chersonesos c. 300 BC (A. Golentsov, and O.D. Dashevskaya, *VDI* (1981) 2, 109-114).

Chersonesos (Strabo's Old Chersonesos). The site protected by two parallel walls across the isthmus of Mayachny Peninsula has been subjected to renewed investigation (E.N. Zhrebtsov, *KSIA* 183 (1985) 38-45). The town is some 9km SW of Chersonesos polis, and a road has been detected, leading to it, which preceded the marking out of allotments on the larger Herakleisky Peninsula. The area enclosed by the parallel walls is 18 hectares. Six towers punctuated the walls (Fig. 17). The area within seems to have been occupied from c 375 to the end

of the 4th Ct BC. Fragments of Herakleiot, Sinopian, and Chersonesite amphoras were found inside, as was a coin of the type with the kneeling Parthenos and griffin, dating to c 325-300 BC (*AO* (1985) 330; A. Zedgenidze, *Vani VI*, 1990, in press). Somewhere on this cape a tutelary shrine of Parthenos stood; the fortified area cut off the peninsula, on which were some 80-100 small allotments of 4.5 hectares each. The most recent discussion of the nature and purpose of this 'Old Chersonesos' (Strabo 7.4.2) is by A.N. Scheglov (*Ellinism ...* 316-18). The settlers may have felt the need and the ability to protect the earliest allotments on Mayachny Peninsula at a time when they were not yet strong enough to convert the whole Herakleisky Peninsula into a network of allotments.

A fierce dispute has recently erupted around the date of foundation of **Chersonesos** (W. of Quarantine Bay) (Fig. 18). The date proposed by Tyumenev (422-1 BC) for a joint foundation by Herakleiot and Ionians from Delos, is now questioned because of finds of the early part of the 5th Ct BC, made mainly in the NE part of the city. A discussion of the meaning of the term *Khersonesos Trekheē*, stresses its relevance to the name of the city (Hind, *Vani V*, 1990, 133-4). The history and archaeology of Chersonesos have recently been the subject of a monograph by Saprykin (S.Y. Saprykin, *Gerakleya Pontiiskaya i Khersones Tavrichesky*, Moscow 1986). A revised guide to the site (*Khersones*, Simferopol 1985, eds. N. Antonova, A. Zedgenidze *et al.*) has been published in Russian, and a photo-album in Ukrainian, Russian, French and English (Antonova and Zedgenidze, *Khersones Tavriisky*, Kiev, 1989). Saprykin and Zedgenidze hold to the

traditional view that Chersonesos was founded in the last quarter of the 5th Ct BC, though a small settlement of the Tauri in contact with Greeks may have existed earlier. Excavations in the NE part of the city (in quarters III, V and VII in 1983-5 and 1988) have for the first time disclosed an occupation layer of the 5th Ct BC, which included almost a dozen pits and some possible pit-shelters. Characteristic finds were Attic bf lekythoi, ring vases, an Olbian cast coin of gorgoneion-type, and terracottas of the first half of the 5th Ct BC (AO (1983) 277; (1984) 235; (1985) 330). Protomai of Apollo and Herakleiot amphora-stamps, and several clay models of bread were also found (M. Zolotaryov, *Arkheologia*, Kiev 1990, 68-76; J.G. Vinogradov and M. Zolotaryov, *Le Pont-Euxin vu Par Les Grecs ... = VANI V*, 85-119). One find, in particular a Boeotian lekanis, is said to date to c. 525-500 BC, and is thought to be an heirloom brought by one of the first settlers from Herakleia, which was itself a joint foundation of Megarians and Boeotians. One might go further and note that in the period of the Persian Wars, and just afterwards, the shrine of Delion in the territory of Tanagra was looted by the Persian fleet and then taken over by Thebes. Its statue of Apollo was for a time held by the islanders of Delos, thus proving a not too friendly link at this time between the two sanctuaries (Hdt. 6.199). Perhaps Ps-Skymnos or his source misunderstood the real historical combination of Herakleiot and Delians of the Tanagra area (which had jointly founded Herakleia) who were the founders of Chersonesos, and had taken the latter to be the much better known Delioi of the Ionian island (Il.826-31, with 1016-19). The date of the joint colonisation venture might have been in the 470s or 460s, which would agree with the latest excavated material, or later in the 5th Ct when Delion was the bone of contention between Thebes and Athens, rather than in the too precisely determined years 422-1 BC. A recent suggestion is that the earliest period at Chersonesos was a pre-polis *emporion*, existing for some 80-90 years as an outpost of Herakleia (V. Katz, *AMIA* 7 (1990) 97-110). Certainly some trade, even if limited, must have taken place with Olbia and Kerkinitis as well as with the closer Tauri.

Summaries of the archaeological results of many years of work at Chersonesos are to be found in G. Koshelenko ed. *AGSP* (1984) 45-56; D. Kacharava and G. Kvirkvelia, *GPPAE* (1991) 304-325. An interesting house of the 4th-3rd Ct BC, found also in the NE part of the city, was published by S. Ryzhov (*SA* (1985) 3, 155-62). Zolotaryov discusses a shrine of Hl. date (*Tskhaltubo III*, 266-76). Other areas recently excavated at Chersonesos were the theatre, where the skene and left parodos were uncovered by O. Dombrovsky; in the in-fill were found roofing-tiles, architectural elements, a herm of Dionysos, and a piece of a limestone frieze with relief sculpture of Achilles and an Amazon. Beneath the theatre was a layer containing remains of metal-working activity. In the harbour area S. Sorochan has excavated a row of 'barrack-buildings' of the 4th-3rd Cts BC, and overlying HL and LR structures. A notable find was a bronze ring, which had a lion holding a spear in its jaws engraved on the bezel, following a Chersonesite coin-type of c. 325-300 BC. V. Zubov excavated in the necropolis by the W defensive walls; the burials were mainly of the 1st Ct AD. Child-burials are said to have been particularly common in that area (AO (1982) 263; (1983) 278; (1984) 236; (1985) 332). An article concerning the possible reconstruction of the temenos (sacred area) at Chersonesos is to be included in Vol. II of the new journal published by Brill (*Journal of Ancient Civilisation II*, in press).

Roman and Byz layers in the port area were excavated

mainly by Kadeyev (AO (1982) 263; (1983) 279; (1984) 239) and Romanchuk (AO (1982) 323; (1983) 348; (1985) 400; (1986) 331). The R period at Chersonesos is treated in a monograph (V.I. Kadeyev, *Khersones v Pyervykh Vyekakh nashei Ery*, Kharkov 1981). A head of Mithras, found by the shore in 1986, is thought to have been left behind by a *vexillatio* of *legio V Macedonica* (Y. Saprykin, *From Scythia to Siberia - Journal of Ancient Civilisations I*, Leiden, Brill, in press). The coinage of Chersonesos is now well illustrated in the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (M. Price, *SNG IX* (1993) pl. XXVII-XXXII). The earliest coins of the city have recently been dated to c. 390-380 BC (Grandmezon, *KSIA* 197 (1990) 57-8). These have a head of Parthenos I. on the obverse, and a tunny fish and club on the reverse. Grandmezon also re-dates the coins with the head of Athene to the late 3rd Ct BC (*KSIA* 191 (1987) 38-40). A gold medallion found in 1982 bears a Fortuna with oar, and a representation of the magic snake Glykon on the reverse side (V. Zubar and M. Treister, *From Scythia ... Vol. I*, in press). Amphoras of the 5th-4th Cts BC, found in the necropolis, were published some time ago in a volume not available to me at the time of the earlier report (K. Grinyovich, *Istoria i Kultura Antichnogo Mira*, Moscow 1977, 17-23). Of recently found inscriptions, pride of place must go to the fragment of a decree of the 3rd Ct BC in which political exiles, male and female are mentioned, and their proposed return, perhaps from Herakleia (Solomonnik, *VDI* (1984) 3, 72-81). Another concerns *klēroi* and the preparation of land for cultivation (E.I. Solomonnik and G.K. Nikolayenko, *VDI* (1990) 2, 95-99).

Excavations in the immediately surrounding *khōra* of Chersonesos, the Herakleisky Peninsula, continued the study of allotments and towers, adding viticulture and other branches of husbandry (Nikolayenko, *Tskhaltubo III*, 277-85). Earlier work is summarised in Western language journals (L. Pečirka, *Ric. St. ed. Econ. in Mem. di C. Barbagallo I*, Napoli 1970, 459-77); M. Dufkova and L. Pečirka, *Eirene* 8, Prague 1970, 123-74; A. Wasowicz, *Dacia* 13 (1969) 87-9; *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 84 (1972) 1, 209-11). More recently V.I. Kuzishin has excavated in *kleros* No. 132—a five-roomed building that underwent three periods from the early 3rd to 1st Ct BC. The associated tower and cellar contained eight pithoi of the 4th-3rd Cts BC. On the E edge of the peninsula by Sapun Ridge another tower was excavated by O. Savelya, which had been constructed in the early 3rd Ct BC and then destroyed by fire and dismantled c. 200 BC. *Kleros* 46 in the central area of the peninsula was examined by E. Turovsky; it was destroyed in the late 4th Ct BC and the stone dismantled perhaps for use in the city in the early part of the 3rd Ct BC. Measurement of the field-systems is treated by Nikolayenko (*KSIA* 182 (1985)) and viticulture and varied branches of agriculture at a number of sites, including Panskoye, Vetrenaya Bay, Tarpanchi, Chaika and Kerkinitis, in the NW Crimea, are discussed by Yatsenko, Yanushevich *et al.* (*KSIA* 174 (1983); *RA* (1985) 1, 115-22). At these sites in the 4th-2nd Cts BC wheat, barley, millet, chick peas, peas and vines were grown. Scheglov describes the use of aerial photography in studying the Chersonesite land-allotment system (*DHA* (1980) 59-72). The area of the *khōra* is estimated at c. 100 sq.kms at first, later expanded ten-fold. A total of some 2,400 allotments are believed to have existed, with 150 rural buildings known, of which about 20 have been excavated. General accounts of Chersonesite occupation of the Herakleisky peninsula and exploitation of the W Crimea are to be found in G. Koshelenko, ed. *AGSP* (1984) 53-6; also by A.N. Scheglov (*Ellinism ...* 310-71; *Antichnaya Gorodskaya Obschina*, Leningrad 1986).

Saprykin reconsiders the significance of the legend of Gykia and the links of Chersonesos with Bosphoros in the time of Asander (SA (1987) 1, 48-57). Kadeyev and Sorochan study the pattern of trade between the Danube area and Chersonesos in the R period (*Arkheologia*, Kiev 1989, 4, 91-101). A. Avdiev suggests that a *vexillatio* of *legio V Macedonica* may have been stationed at Chersonesos between c. AD 115 and 167 (*PAC-Simf.*, 230-1).

The Tauroi lived in the foothills and valleys of the Crimean Mountains, as well as originally occupying the Herakleisky Peninsula. Recent surveys of their forts, settlements, burial places, pottery and tools etc. are to be found in: E.I. Solomon-nik, *Arkheologia* 20, Kiev 1976; A.M. Leskov, *Antike Welt* (1980) 4; K. Kris, *Kizil Kobinskaya Kultura i Tavry. Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochnikov D 1-7*, Moscow 1981; A.N. Scheglov, *Tskhaltubo - VANI IV* (1988) 53-81; V.A. Kolotyukhin, SA (1985) 2, 34-46. There has been dispute as to whether the Tauroi were pre-Iranian, or part of a generally Iranian-speaking N Black Sea population. They certainly were separate from the Scythians of steppeland Crimea, and from the Satarkhai of the NW corner, and the incoming Sarmatians (Grantovsky, and Rayevsky, *Ethnogenez Naro dov Balkan i Severnogo Prichernomorya*, Moscow 1984). At **Gurzuf Pass** in the mountains a shrine dating from the 3rd Ct BC-2nd Ct AD was found. It was most frequented in the 1st Ct BC-AD. Twelve silver and bronze statuettes of Graeco-Roman deities were discovered (N. Novichenkova, AO (1983) 327-8; R. Rolle *et al.*, edd. *Gold der Steppe - Archäologie der Ukraine*, Neumünster 1991, Nos. 172-3). Among the deities was a bronze Artemis (**Fig. 19**). The coins included a gold stater of Chersonesos, and one of Dynamis, queen of Bosphoros. A Ch basilica existed on the same site in the 7th Ct AD.

The Scythians

The capital of the Late Scythian state in the Crimea **Neapolis (Kermenchik)** near Simferopol continued to be excavated (AO (1982) 298; (1983) 315; (1984) 270-1; (1986) 309-10). Burials from Neapolis (1983-5) are published by Puzdrovsky (*Ross.A.* (1992) 2, 181-99). Vysotskaya summarises the results of research in the 1970s (T.N. Vysotskaya, *Neapol', Stolitsa Gosudarstva Pozdnykh Skifov*, Kiev 1979). The site is characterised by finds of Rhodian, Knidian and Herakleiot amphoras, dating to the later 3rd Ct BC. A *proteikhisma*, found near the main gates and the 'mausoleum', dates to the 2nd Ct BC. In the SE part of the town there was a great conflagration towards the end of the 2nd Ct BC, thought to be the work of Mithridates' troops. No less than four papers delivered at the Simferopol Crimea Conference in 1988, were concerned with aspects of the archaeology of Scythian Neapolis (Zaitsev, *PAC Simf.*, 289-90; Puzdrovsky, *ibid.* 303-4; Khrapunov *ibid.* 283-4). The chronology of Scythian culture in a wider sense is attempted by J.G. Vinogradov and K.K. Marchenko (*Klio* 71 (1989) 2, 539-49). The periods distinguished are (1) c. 650-475 BC; (2) c. 475-400 BC; (3) c. 400-300 BC; (4) c. 300-250 BC, after which occurred the disintegration of Scythian overlordship of the steppes. The chronology of Scythian burials is worked out by typology of their contents (G. Mansfeld, *Tskhaltubo/VANI IV* 35-52; *Ross.A.* (1992) 3, 108-12). The early period of the development of Scythia is treated by V.Y. Murzin (*Skifskaya Arkhaika Severnogo Prichernomorya*, Kiev 1984). Scythians are first detected penetrating N Urartu in the time of Sargon II of Assyria c. 750 BC and moving on into Asia c. 640 BC (Medvedskaya, *Ross.A.* (1992) 3, 86-107). A full survey of the Eurasian steppeland cultures is to be found in A.I. Melyuk-



FIG. 19

ova *Stepi Evropeiskoi Chasti SSSR v Shipho-Sarmatskoye Vremya*, Moscow 1989. A large work of synthesis on the various branches of the Scythians and their regionally differentiated sub-cultures, with full illustration of the material remains is by V.A. Ilyinskaya and A.I. Terenozhkin, *Skiphia VII-IV vyekakh do n.e.*, Kiev 1983). Rayevsky discusses Scythian culture with interpretation of the principles of Scythian art (D.S. Rayevsky, *Model' Mira Skifskoi Kultury*, Moscow 1985). A well-illustrated general book on the Scythians with emphasis on the great royal or noble burials of S Russia and Siberia is now available in English (R. Rolle, *The World of the Scythians*, London 1989). A recent article by Mozolevsky points to the three areas where the richest Scythian tombs are concentrated: (1) The Kamenka-Nikopol area; (2) the Visyuntsy-Nikolayev area; (3) the Crimean foothills, N of Byelogorsk (*Arkheologia*, Kiev 1990, 1, 122-38). Melyukova surveyed the situation of the peoples N of the Black Sea on the eve of and during the Greek colonisation period (*Tskhaltubo-VANI IV*, 8-27) and Vinogradov and Domansky took the story down to the 4th Ct BC (*ibid.* 28-34). Scythian art is now excellently presented in the fine volume, published by Aurora Press, Leningrad (L. Galanina and N. Grach, *Scythian Art - The Legacy of the Scythian World; Mid-Seventh to the Third Century BC*, 1986). The curled cat-like predator is discussed by Perevodchikova (*KSIA* 186 (1986) 8-14). More Hellenic-looking imports into Scythia are gold pendants and rings—the so-called 'Ring of Skyles' on which is a Dionysiac scene, thought to have been fashioned in Ionia (Kuznetsova, *KSIA* 186 (1986) 3-8) and the pendant of the early 3rd Ct BC, on which is stamped the figure of a woman on a flying swan, perhaps Aphrodite Urania (M. Vakhtina, *KSIA* 194 (1988) 92-5). Among the pottery imported into Scythian lands is another Late wg style amphora (early 6th Ct BC) found in burial 12, tumulus No. 1 at Shandrovka in the Oryol-Samara river region



FIG. 20

(AO (1983) 285-6) (Fig. 20).

The direction taken by the staples of trade between Olbia and Scythia, and Chersonesos and Scythia, is treated by Domansky (*Tskhaltubo III*, 233-42) and by Zedgenidze, Zolotaryov and Turovsky (*Tskhaltubo III*, m 256-66; *IRBS V* (1990) 17, 18). Chersonesite amphoras, in particular, found their way up to the bend of the Dnieper, perhaps via Byelozer-skoye, and to Elizavetovskoye in the delta of the Don in the early HL period. Scheglov argues that the grain, which was exported back to the metropoleis in Greece, was the produce of the *khōrai* of the colonies and not from the wider steppelands of the Scyths (*Le Pont-Euxin vu par les Grecs ...* 141-59, = *VANI V*). This leaves open the sources of Scythian wealth, though tribute and protection-money 'gifts', and the proceeds of the sales of slaves and animal-hides may all have played a part. The geography of Scythia continues to be the subject of debate, particularly concerning the rivers and tribes of Scythia, where some great inconsistencies appear to have been left by Herodotus and the Hellenistic writers. The rivers Pantikapes, Hypakiris and Gerrhos, and the tribes Kallipidai, Alizones and Skythai Arotēres are all the objects of dispute (B.A. Rybakov, *Gerodotova Skiphia*, Moscow 1979; A.I. Dovatur, *et al.*, *Narody Nashei Strany v Istorii Gerodota*, Moscow 1982; V.P. Yailenko, *Sovetskaya Ethnographia* (1983) 1, 54-65; I.V. Kuklina, *Ethno-Geographia Skiphii po Antichnym Istochnikam*, Leningrad 1985; J. Hind, *VANI V*, 127-36).

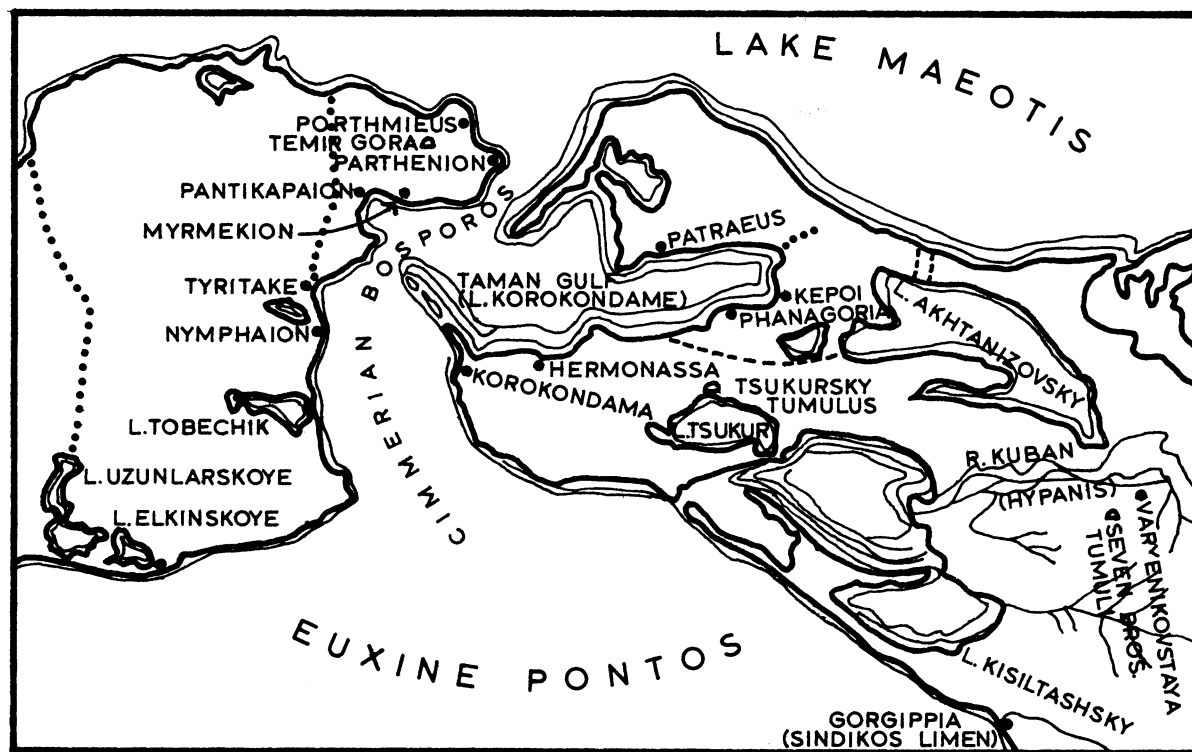
Theodosia. The ancient site is on Karantinnaya Gorka by Feodosia (Koshelenko, ed. *AGSP* (1984) 63). A building of the 5th Ct BC, overlaid by one of the 4th-2nd Cts, is discussed by Peters (*Problemy Antichnoi Istorii i Kultury-XIV Eirene Congress*, Yerevan 1979, 399-403). Amphora stamps, including Thasian, are published by Avdeyev and Peters (SA (1987) 3, 214-8). The name of Theodosia is once more discussed, using the variants found on the coins (Petrova, *PAC Simf.* 213-4). A

Theodosian silver coin of c 400 BC was found in 1983 (AO (1983) 265) and two rare types of Theodosian coin are discussed by Zolotaryov (*VDI* (1984) 1, 89-92). The forcible incorporation of Theodosia into the Bosporan state is discussed in detail by Shelov-Kovyedyayev (*Klio* 68 (1986) 367-76). The coinage of the city is treated as part of the larger topic of Bosporan coinage by V. Anokhin (*Monetnoye Dyelo Bospora*, Kiev 1989, 15-16, 29-30, 57-8, 138-9, 141).

At the S entrance to the Bosporos straits was **Kytaia**, a small town 35 km S of Pantikapaion and about 4.5 hectares in area (Fig. 21) (Maslennikov, in G. Koshelenko, ed. *AGSP* (1984) 71; Molyev, *Arkheologia* 54, Kiev 1986, 33-46). Brief summaries of the results of excavations are by Molyev (AO (1983) 321-2; (1984) 273-4; (1985) 375; (1986) 313). Work was carried out in the town, the necropolis and in the surrounding territory. From the mid-4th Ct BC it had a town-wall 2.5m thick, furnished with towers and a ditch. A house of the 3rd Ct BC was excavated by the shore. The earliest burials were of the 4th-3rd Cts BC. Coins found at Kytaia are published by Molyev (*AMIA* 7 (1990) 111-21) and the terracottas are discussed by N. Molyeva (*PAC Simf.* 209-10); most of the latter come from an ash-mound (*eskhara*). The amphoras imported into Kytaia between c. 470 and c. 250 BC are given statistical treatment by Molyev (*IRBS*, Rostov 1988, 20-30). About 7 km E of Kytaia is **Cape Takil**; there is a shrine, and an accompanying settlement and necropolis are suspected. The finds, from a ritual ash-pile, are of the end of the 6th-4th Cts BC. It is suggested that this was the ancient **Zephyrion** (Molyeva, *AMIA* 7 (1990) 122-7). Some 25 km S of Pantikapaion and 4 km N of Cape Takil is the site now mainly underwater at **Zavyetnoye**, excavated by the Leningrad Institute of Archaeology underwater-team between 1983 and 1985 (K. Shilik, AO (1983) 132; (1984) 494; (1985) 632). Fuller accounts are given by Shilik, *Problemy Istorii i Arkheologii Vostochnogo Kryma*, Kerch 1984; *PAC Simf.*, 226-8; TP IV (1991) 427-34). A town of some 3.5 hectares in area was found, of which two defensive walls at right angles to each other were traced. A well was found underwater, a major part of its infill being a batch of complete Herakleiot amphoras. A limestone akroterion was also found which had decoration in low relief in the form of volutes and palmettes. Elsewhere were found many iron anchors and lead anchor-stocks, indicating a nearby mooring-place. The site is plausibly identified with the ancient **Akra**.

The city of **Nymphaion**, 17 km S of Pantikapaion has been best known for its early 'independent' period, symbolised by its silver coinage of the late 5th Ct BC (Anokhin, *Monetnoye Dyelo Bospora ...* 15, 29, 138) and for its seeming close connections with the Scythian population. Yakovenko reconsiders the collection of Scythian material now in Oxford, which comes from burials near Nymphaion (*PAC Simf.*, 228-9). Soviet work up to the early 1980s is described in G. Koshele-nko ed. *AGSP* 63-5 (section by I.G. Shurgaya) and D. Kacharava and G. Kvirkvelia include an entry in their gazetteer down to 1987 (*GPPAE* (1991) 178-81). The characteristics of Nymphaion in the 4th Ct-1st C. BC are discussed by N. Grach (*Tskhaltubo III*, 333-40). In 1982 a startling find was made in an HL shrine (Fig. 22); some 12 sq.m of broken painted wall plaster was found, which could be restored to depict a fleet of some 30 sailing ships (N. Grach, AO (1982) 253-4). One fine ship is called Isis (the name is in a cartouche-like frame). Above its deck is an eagle standing on a trident. The excavator suggests that an embassy from Egypt, perhaps from Ptolemy II, is the subject (N. Grach, *VDI* (1984) 1, 81-8 figs. 1a and b; *Arkheologia*, 57, Kiev 1986, 81-94; *Bayerische Akad. der Wiss. Phil. - Hist. Klasse. Abh. N.F.*, 1987). Inscriptions

GREEKS ON KIMMERIAN BOSPOROS IN ARCHAIC PERIOD



SETTLEMENTS AND TUMULI

- ANCIENT LINES OF MOUNDS AND DITCHES
- SETTLEMENTS
- ▲ BURIAL MOUNDS
- ANCIENT COURSE OF RIVER KUBAN

FIG. 21

include, among other things, the months of the year (Thargelion, Taureon, Kalamaion) indicating a hitherto unattested Milesian origin for Nymphaion. Other remains of the HL period, including a wine-making establishment (4th-3rd Cts BC) are discussed by Sokolova (*Drevniye Pamyatniki Kultury na Territorii SSSR*, Leningrad 1986, 43-57; *PAC Simf.*, 218-19). A fragmentary inscription, honouring Mithridates with the titles Dionysos and Euergetes, is restored by V. Yailenko (*Tskhaltubo III*, 617-9). In 1990 excavations at Nymphaion were resumed in the central part of the town. Among the earliest structures were pit-shelters (*zemlyanki*) and the finds included hand-made pottery, Scythian-type arrow-heads, a Chiot amphora-neck, Attic bf pottery of the mid-6th Ct BC, E Greek plates with a 'broken-key' pattern on the rim, and the head of a terracotta statuette of Aphrodite (Grach, *VANI VI*, in press, Tbilisi and Besançon).

E.G. Kastanayan has studied the hand-made pottery of the 6th-2nd Cts BC from **Tyritate**, 11 km S of Kerch, and distinguishes it from that characteristic of the site of the 1st Ct-3rd Cts AD at Ivanovka, some 18 km SW of Pantikapaion (*Lepnaya Keramika Bosporskikh Gorodov*, Leningrad 1981, 12-28; 54-85; 86-103). Ivanovka was occupied from c. AD 50-270,

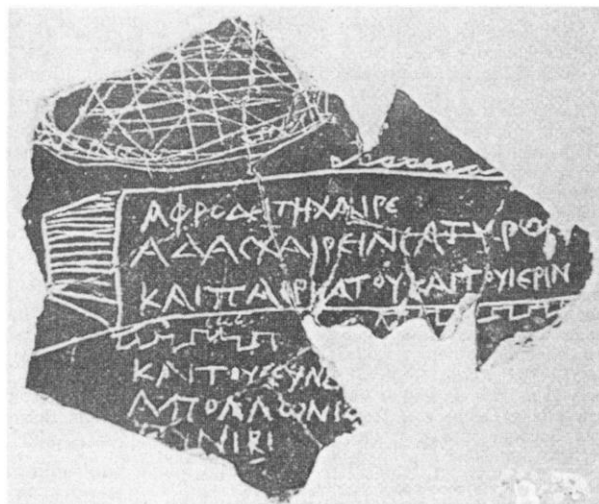


FIG. 22

and is normally identified with **Ilouraton** of Ptolemy. It was a fortified town, occupying about two hectares. The excavations continued from the late 70s (AO (1982) 251-2; (1983) 268; (1984) 227-8; (1985) 320-1; (1986) 260-1). Ivanovka is one of the most informative sites for the R period on the Bosporos. The defensive wall, two main streets, ten subsidiary ones, and many buildings of the 1st-3rd Cts AD have been found. I.G. Shurgaya publishes the painted representation of a cataphract-type rider (KSIA 174 (1983) 96-100) and small figurines used in ritual and magic (*Problemy Antichnoi Kultury*, Moscow 1986, 217-22). In 1985 a length of proteikhisma was found outside the NW curtain wall; it dated to c. 200-250 AD. On the NE slope a bronze coin of Mithridates (AD 38-39) is thought to date the earliest wall to late in the first half of the 1st Ct AD. Within the town a winery has been excavated (Goroncharovsky, KSIA 182, 89-92). Outside it an upper and a lower necropolis were excavated in 1986-90. In the upper one over 50 burials were uncovered, some with ritual areas, and horse burials; a terracotta statuette of a woman 0.62m high was found in one such area.

The capital of the Bosporan Kingdom was **Pantikapaion** (**Kerch**). The general archaeological picture of the city is given in G. Koshelenko ed. *AGSP* (1984) 59-63 (I.G. Shurgaya) and a full bibliography to 1987 by D.D. Kacharava and G.T. Kvirvelia (*GPPAE* (1991) 208-16). Shelov-Kovyedyayev has produced a monograph on the political and expansionary development of Bosporos from the 6th-4th Cts BC (F.V. Shelov-Kovyedyayev, *Istoria Bospora v VI-IV Vyekakh do n.e., Drevneye Gosudarstva na Territorii SSSR*, Moscow 1985, 3-187). An abbreviated version of this appeared in French (*DHA* (1986) 173-82). This monograph is particularly valuable for its study of the flora, fauna and topography of the E Crimea and the Taman Peninsula. The rate of expansion of the Bosporan state, and the reasons for the form it took in the 6th-5th Cts BC, are explored by V. Tolstikov (*VDI* (1984) 24-46). Bosporos in the Hellenistic period is the subject of Yailenko's chapter in E.S. Golubtseva ed., *Ellinism: Ekonomika, Politika, Kultura* (1990) 283-309, and the Bosporan Kingdom from 6th Ct BC to its absorption in Mithridates' Pontic Empire will feature in the forthcoming new edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Hind, *CAH VI* (1994) ch. 14). The lay-out of the capital, Pantikapaion, in the 1st-4th Cts AD is discussed by A.V. Sazanov (*SA* (1985) 3, 166-77). A study of Pantikapaion in the 1st century AD by M. Treister is to appear in *From Scythia to Siberia. Journal of Ancient Civilisations II*, Brill 1994.

The evidence for the earliest phase of Greek colonisation on the Bosporos, including Pantikapaion, is set out by G. Koshelenko and V. Kuznetsov (*Le Pont-Euxin vu par les Grecs...* (1990) 67-84 = *VANI V*). The same pair of authors delivered a paper at the London seminar, held in 1990, *Kolkhis and the Greek World*, on the literary tradition for the colonisation of this area, which is compared very favourably with that for Kolkhis, by its wealth and variety, in all respects except the legendary connection of Jason and the Argonauts with Kolkhis ('Kolkhis and Bosporos: Two Models of Colonisation'). It has been suggested that the craggy hill-tops of Mt. Mithridates, and Yüz Oba and the harbour below, may have been the *emporion* for the Royal Scythians, named Kremnoi by Herodotus, only later to be re-named Pantikapaion after the Bosporos Straits (Hind, *TP II*, 110-114). But either Pantikapaion itself, or another nearby city, also had the official name **Apollonia**, as is shown by coins of c. 480-440 BC. Anokhin argues that these ΑΠΟΛΑ coins were issued by a temple-mint at Pantikapaion, after an imposing Apollo temple had been built there (V.I.

Anokhin, *Monetnoye Dyelo Bospora ...* 136-7). The holdings of coins of Pantikapaion in the British Museum are now well illustrated in *SNG IX*, pl. XXVII-XXXVI (Price).

Recent excavation has been carried out in the Acropolis area on the Upper Plateau of Mt. Mithridates, on the 'First Step' of the hill and on the W plateau. Semi-pit shelters of the 6th-first half of the 5th Ct BC are published by V. Tolstikov (*Soob. Gos. Mus. Iz. Isk* 7 (1984) 28, 56; M. Treister, *Arch. News* 14 (1985) 62-3; *Demokratie und Architektur*, Konstanz, 79-80). A circular structure, 18m in diam., was found; several streets enclosed a rectangular building. Finds include the lower part of a Panathenaic amphora, early rf pottery of c. 525-500 BC, and many fragments of a large thick-walled vase, with three riders in relief-technique (*VANI VI* (1990) in press). Imported bronze objects, and traces of bronze-working at Pantikapaion in this period are published by M. Treister (*KSIA* 197 (1990) 37-44; *Eirene* 25 (1988) 45-56). A curved clay bellows-nozzle was found in 1988 (M. Treister and F. Shelov-Kovyedyayev, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 296). A wide-ranging analytical study of bronze-working in the Bosporan cities down to the 4th Ct AD has been undertaken by Treister (*Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie* 10 (1988) 21-79). The clay waste from casting a bronze statue, found between 1979 and 1982, as well as eyes for insertion, and other debris from a bronze-smith's workshop of c. 400-300 BC are also studied by Treister (*VDI* (1984) 1, 146-60).

The excavations in the Central Section on the W plateau produced interesting remains of the late HL period. An underground sanctuary was found, which contained a sacrificial table, bearing a dedication commissioned by one Senamōtis (or Dedmōtis) daughter of the Scythian king Skilouros, for the Scythian goddess, Dithagoia. The implications of this for the history of Bosporos on the eve of Mithridates' intervention (dynastic marriage between a member of the Bosporan nobility and a daughter of the Scythian king) are discussed by J. Vinogradov, E. Molyev and V. Tolstikov (*Tskhaltubo III*, 589-60; *VDI* (1987) 1, 55-114). A fragmentary marble statue of Hekatē in neo-Attic style was also found near here (L.I. Akimova, *VDI* (1983) 3, 66-88). A large peristyle building, once surrounded by a double-storeyed colonnade, was found; the foundations of a bastion or tower in the centre of the W wall suggest that it had its own defences. The numerous finds included HL relief pottery, terracottas, coins, a piece of a marble akroterion and a fragment of a decree of the late 4th Ct BC in the name of Pairisades I. This and another found in 1976 have been published by Shelov-Kovyedyayev (*VDI* (1985) 1, 57-72; (1988) 4, 81-3). These decrees granted rights and privileges to individual foreigners, so the Spartokids did not just deal with foreign governments. This fine building is identified as a palace, constructed c. 340-330 BC over the remains of an earlier monumental building of the late 5th-4th Cts BC. The HL palace is thought to have itself undergone rebuilding after an earthquake in the early 3rd Ct BC. A century later a more thorough-going reconstruction was started, involving rebuilding the colonnade from its foundations. Some column drums were installed and the outlines for fluting made, but they remained unfinished and 17 column-drums were hurled down a well. The rooms were destroyed, stone robbed from the area, and the building was out of use in the late 2nd-early 1st Ct BC. A stone matrix for stamping gold ornaments (2nd Ct BC) was found, indicating the presence of a gold-smith's workshop somewhere in this official area (M. Treister, *Kochevniki Evraziiskikh Stepei i Antichny Mir*, Novocherkassk 1989). In the N part of the Central Section a defensive wall with bastions overlay the robbed-out N palace wall; it dates

apparently to the last quarter of the 2nd Ct BC (Tolstikov, *Thracia* 7 (1985) 97-114). Five Ionic column drums, a capital and a fragment of cornice of much earlier date have allowed the reconstruction of a monumental peripteral temple (Fig. 23) which is supposed to have been built c. 475-450 BC perhaps by the Arkhaianaktidai, to celebrate the increased importance of Pantikapaion as the capital of unified Bosphoros (I.R. Pichikyan, *Malaya Asia-Severnoye Prichernomorye*, Moscow 1984, 154 ff.; V. Tolstikov, *VDI* (1984) 3, 24-48). A technical study of the bronze alloys used in the production of Bosphoran coins is published in a Japanese journal (M. Treister, *Bull. of the Metals Mus.* 13, Sandai, Japan, 1988, 1-21). A survey of the study of amphora and tile stamps is contributed by F. Shelov-Kovyedyayev (*BCH Suppl. XIV* (1986) 9 ff.). Stucco appliques and carved woodwork on sarcophagi from Pantikapaion, which are kept in the collections of the Louvre Museum, are now published (P. Pinelli and A. Wasowicz, *Catalogue des bois et stucs grecs et romains provenants de Kertch*, Paris 1986).

Some 4 km NE of Pantikapaion was **Myrmekion**. The 'Kimmerian' and Scythian hand-made pottery from here is published by E.G. Kastanayan (*Lepnaya Keramika ...* 12-53). A monograph on the results of the excavation down to 1966 is now available in the posthumous work of V.F. Gaidukevich (*Antichnye Goroda Bospora-Mirmeki, Leningrad 1987*, edd. A.N. Scheglov and A.L. Yakobson). Work was renewed on the site in 1982 and continued in subsequent years. Some early semi-pit dwellings of the late 6th-early 5th Ct BC, and the W defensive wall dating to the first half of the 5th Ct, were excavated (J.A. Vinogradov, *AO* (1982) 248; (1983) 265; (1985) 222-3; (1986) 260). In 1983 a rare silver coin of Theodosia was found, and in 1986 a small coin with the 'ant'-type on the obverse, which is usually said to be a punning type on the name Myrmekion, but has now for the first time been found there during the course of excavation.

Northeast Corner of Kerch Peninsula

The small town, **Porthmies**, continued to be excavated for seven seasons by E.G. Kastanayan (G. Koshelenko ed. *AGSP* (1984) 69-70). The topography of the site and its street plan was clarified. Its main period was from the 3rd-1st Cts BC; three lengthwise streets intersected with three cross-lanes. A structure excavated near the W defensive wall is interpreted as a storehouse, constructed against the chance of siege (*AO* (1984) 240). Excavations were resumed in 1986 by M. Vakhtina, and were concentrated mainly in the SE part of the town, continuing the uncovering down to its base of a wall found in 1984 (*AO* (1986) 259-60). A grave stele with inscription from Porthmies is published by Kastanayan (*VDI* (1987) 2, 85-7).

Excavations continued at **Mikhailovka** (B. Peters, *AO* (1982) 317; (1983) 343; (1984) 292-3). Apart from a much earlier LN layer, the main eleven periods spanned the early 6th Ct BC to L Med. Peters believes his Level III of the 4th Ct BC is that of the 'Royal Fortress', mentioned by Diodoros Siculus in his story of warfare between brothers of the Spartokid family. A fine sardonyx gem with a centaur carved in intaglio is an outstanding find. Peters and Abramov publish the amphoras and jugs from the excavations, and Peters publishes the coins from the settlement and accompanying necropolis (*Num. i Ep.* XII). The settlement on the shore of the Sea of Azov at **Cape Zyuk** was the object of study between 1978 and 1984, producing material dating from the 6th Ct BC to the 6th Ct AD — amphoras of the 5th Ct BC (A. Abramov and A. Maslennikov, *SA* (1991) 3, 234-49) graffiti and *dipinti* on pottery (Maslennikov, *KSIA* 191 (1987) 45-52). During 1984-6

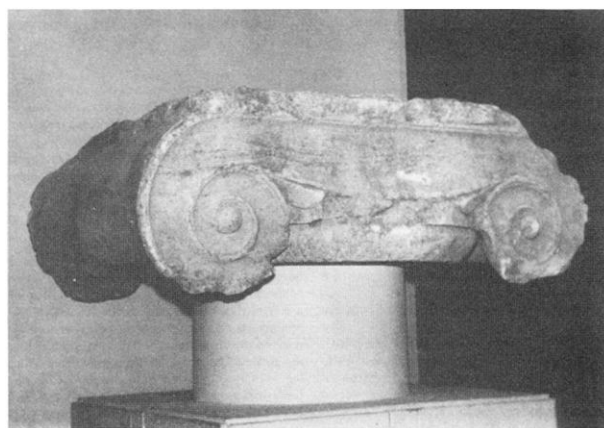


FIG. 23

work was carried out not only at Cape Zyuk, but also at **Krutoy Bereg** (3rd-2nd Ct BC) **General'skoye Zapadnoye** (4th-early 3rd Ct BC) **Zelyony Mys** (5th-6th Cts AD) and at a large settlement of the 2nd-3rd Cts AD, situated somewhat inland at **Novomikhailovka**, which Maslennikov suggests was the ancient **Sauromation**. A large tower, 6m x 6m, and the N defensive wall were excavated. Maslennikov notes that the N part of the Kerch Peninsula was particularly thickly settled (G. Koshelenko, ed., *AGSP* (1984) 71-6, Kruglikova; *KSIA* 168 (1981) Maslennikov). A settlement of stout structure and almost square shape at **Lake Chokrak** has been studied; it proved to date from the 4th to the late 1st Ct BC, when many such strong-points were destroyed by fire. The map of this area according to Ptolemy is discussed by Zubaryov and Maslennikov in the light of their researches on the settlements (*SA* (1987) 3, 40-52, with maps on pp. 42, 46).

The distribution of the rural settlements in the wider Kerch Peninsula, with their economic and administrative roles, is discussed by Maslennikov (*SA* (1989) 2, 68-78). The area is sub-divided into regions with the intention of illustrating connections by trade (Maslennikov, *Arkheologia* Kiev 1989, 4, 35-47). The same author earlier produced a study of the non-Greek population of the E Crimea (*Naseleniye Bosporskogo Gosudarstva v VI-II vyekakh do n.e.*, Moscow 1981). The changes undergone by the population in the successive chronological periods have been more recently discussed by him (*Kimmeriitsy i Skiphy* (1987) 16 ff.) and by Bunyatyan and Bessonova (*Arkheologia* (1990) 1, 18-26). The native population of the Crimea more generally is treated by V.S. Olkhovskiy (*ibid* 27-38). The literary evidence for Kimmerians on the Bosphoros, ie. place names, is reviewed by S. Tokhtasyov (*Ethnogenes Narodov Balkan*, Moscow 1984, 141-9). So far as the end of the ancient period is concerned, the small towns on either side of the Bosphoros (Tyritake, Ilyichevsky, Cape Zyuk) are all believed to have late layers of the end of the 4th or even the early 5th Cts AD (A.V. Savanov and J.V. Ivaschenko, *SA* (1989) 1, 84-102).

The defensive systems, earthworks cutting off various isthmus-lines in the E and N Crimea, have received renewed attention, and Moseichuk reports on sections cut across the Akkosov/Uzunlyarsk dyke (*KSIA* 174 (1983) 74-7). Maslennikov studies three certain, and two uncertain, lines of defensive ditches and mounds, among the former being the Tyritakē and Uzunlyarsk dykes (*SA* (1983) 1, 14-22). The dyke across Perekop, cutting off the isthmus and the whole Crimea is

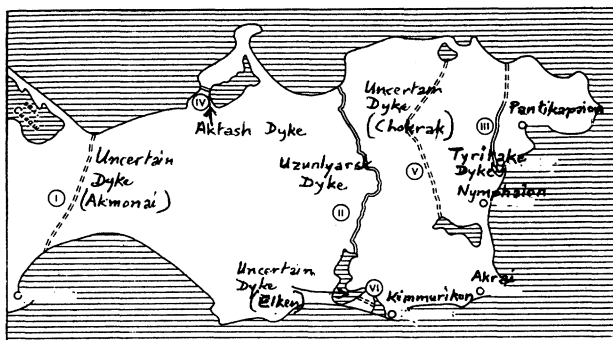


FIG. 24

considered by I.I. Vdovichenko and S.G. Koltukhov (VDI (1986) 2, 145-55). Koltukhov discusses the dykes drawn across the Crimea at various times between the 5th and 2nd Cts BC (VDI (1991) 91-104) (Fig. 24). The early ones seem to be connected with the expansion of Spartokid Bosporos in the later 5th and early 4th Ct BC, while the Perekop dyke may have been an attempt by the Scythians in the late 3rd Ct BC to keep the Sarmatians out of the Crimea, used later by Asander in the 1st Ct to defend the Bosporos.

Relations between Bosporos and the Scythians in the 4th Ct BC are treated by Yakovenko, especially in connection with their powerful king, Ateas (IRBS (1986) 43-53). The historical evidence for this king is reviewed by J.R. Gardiner-Garden (JHS 109 (1989) 29 ff.). The Scythian route across the steppes to the Bosporos and across the straits to Sindikē is traced by Yakovenko by the 'Kamyennye baby', sculptured standing-stones (VANI VI, (1990) in press). Herodotus' description of Scythian *Gerrhos* is said by Mozolevsky to apply to the area near Kamenka-Nikopol, of some 70 km square (SA (1986) 2, 70-83). Blavatskaya discusses the location of the timber-town, *Gelonos* in the land of the Boudinoi; its inhabitants, according to Herodotus, were, in part at least, Greek traders who had migrated inland (T.V. Blavatskaya, SA (1986) 4, 22-34). Excavations by Kharkov University at Byelskoye, on the right bank of the R. Vorskla, have continued; this is the favoured location for *Gelonos* (B.Shramko, AO (1982) 344-5; (1983) 375-6; (1984) 332-3; (1985) 439-40). Shramko also produces an interesting article on the plants cultivated or used by the tribes of the steppe and wooded-steppe areas (SA (1985) 2, 47-64). The great masterpieces of goldwork found in the Scythian and Bosporan tombs of the early HL period are attributed to Bosporan workshops (Yakovenko, *Tskhaltubo III*, 341-51).

The Scythian expedition of Dareios is presented by Herodotus as penetrating deep into Scythia far beyond the Danube, even reaching the E shores of Lake Maiotis. Studies of a revisionist nature, even arguing in one instance that Herodotus contaminated reports of two expeditions, one from the W and one from the N Caucasus, have appeared recently (E.V. Chernenko, *Drevnosti Stepoi Skiphii*, Kiev 1982, 3 ff.; *Skipho-Persidskaya Voyna*, Kiev 1984; S.V. Polin, *Kimmeritsy i Skiphy* (1987) 50-3; J.R. Gardiner-Garden, *Klio* 69 (1987) 2, 326-50). The move forward in the 3rd Ct BC of the Sarmatians into Central and E Europe is discussed by M.B. Schukin (SA (1989) 1, 70-83).

The site of Herodotus' *Kremnoi*, the *emporion* of the Royal Scythians, is sought by J. Boltryuk and E. Fialko at St. Botievo, at the mouth of the R. Korsak on the NW shore of Lake Maiotis. Several rows of Scythian tumuli arranged in

rows, a supposed silted-up harbour and cliffs up to 35m high have persuaded the authors that this is the site of the second *emporion*, comparable with Olbia in Herodotus' time (*Skiphy Severnogo Prichernomor'ya*, Kiev 1987, 40-8). But no settlement of the 6th, 5th or 4th Cts is known to have existed; what pottery there is dates to HL and R times.

The site at *Taganrog* seems to have been the first attempt at settlement, perhaps by some E Greek fishermen, on the coast W of the Don delta (V.D. Blavatsky, *Archaeology* 16.2 (1963) 93-8). In 1989-90 thousands of pottery fragments were found near the grand stone-stairs at low tide and after storms (K.A. Semina). They included fragments of Chiot and Lesbian amphorae, and a handful of sherds of bird-bowls, one having the head of a bird, others hatched-rhombus decoration; there were also fragments of rosette bowls and Ionian cups (V.P. Kopylov, *IRBS* V, Rostov 1990, 10; Kopylov, *VANI* VI, in press). Kopylov believes that Taganrog was the *emporion* Kremnoi, but the material seems to be confined to the 6th Ct BC.

The large 'barbarian' (Scythian?) town in the SE part of the delta of the Don at *Elizavetovskoye* existed from the 5th Ct to the first half of the 3rd Ct BC. It is one of the largest defended areas in the N Black Sea steppe belt (44 hectares) and is regarded as one of the great points of contact between the Bosporan Greeks and the nomad peoples (J.B. Brashinsky and K.K. Marchenko, *SA* (1980) 1, 211-18; *Elizavetovskoye Skythische Stadt im Don delta*, Munich 1984; K.K. Marchenko, *Klio* 68 (1986) 377-98). Excavation here continued in the 1980s (Marchenko, *AO* (1982) 130-1; (1983) 124-5; (1984) 268-9; (1985) 144-5; (1986) 137-8). Marchenko believes that he has found two areas of Greek trading settlement within the large Scythian encampment, which had already passed through three periods—a relatively small winter camp, of the late 6th/early 5th Ct BC to c. 400 BC; a much enlarged settlement c. 400-350 BC, and then a strongly fortified town with some urban characteristics c. 350-early 3rd Ct BC. Finally an organized Greek trading presence from the second half of the 4th Ct to c. 260 BC is noted by the excavators in two areas (Marchenko, V. Zhitnikov, E. Yakovenko, *SA* (1988) 3, 63-78). A somewhat earlier Greek quarter in the W part of the town near the line of the outer defensive-wall (excavated 1986-88) was abandoned after some 50 years of existence by c. 300 BC. The slightly later 'Greek colony' near the central point of the area was destroyed c. 270/60 BC (Marchenko, *VDI* (1990) 1, 129-38; V. Kopylov, *Antichnaya Tsivilisatsia i Varvarsky Mir v Podonye*, Novocherkassk 1987, 13-15; V.I. Katz and N. Fyedosyev, *AMIA* 6, Saratov 1986, 85 ff.; Fyedosyev, *AMIA* 7 (1990) 154-60). In 1989-90 excavations were concentrated in the S area of the acropolis; remains of the later 4th-early 3rd Ct were found. The presence of Greeks is again suggested by the mud-brick on stone socle buildings, and Greek grave-stelai have been found (K. Marchenko and V. Zhitnikov, *Novye Expeditsionnye Issledovania Arkheologov Leningrada* (1983) 16). The composition of the population of Elizavetovskoye Town is discussed by V. Kopylov and K. Marchenko, who believe it to have been mainly a branch of the Scythian people with pronounced agricultural and fishing interests (*IRBS* III, Rostov 1986, 22-36). This site looks more and more like Strabo's Alopekia, 'settlement of mixed peoples on an island' in the Don delta (11.2.3). A study which originated with material from the Tanais delta area is the much wider discussion of amphora provenances, shapes and capacities by J.B. Brashinsky (*Myetody Issledovaniia Antichnoi Torgovli*, Leningrad 1984). (Figs. 25, 26) The new city at *Nedvigovka* (Tanais) lay on the Myertvy Donets, western arm of the Don delta. It is thought to have begun its existence c. 300/275 BC

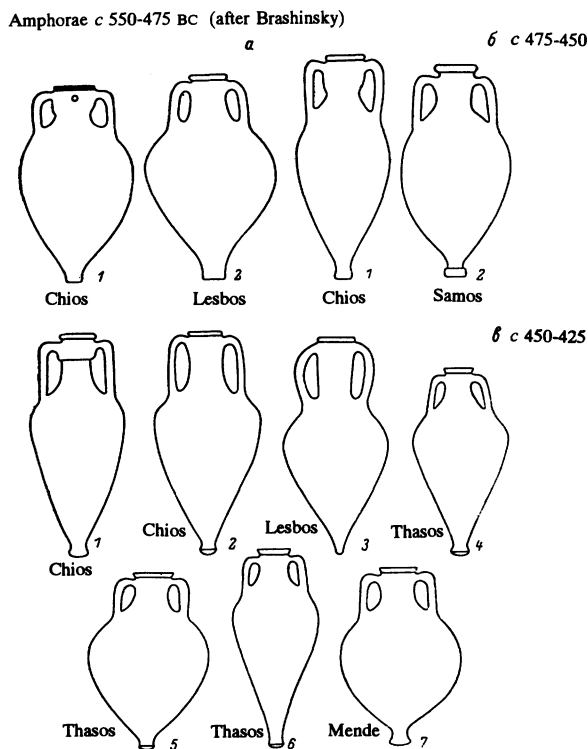


FIG. 25

and to have been destroyed towards the end of the 1st Ct BC by King Polemon. Earlier research is summarised by G. Koshelenko, ed. *AGSP* (1984) 93-5, and by D. Kacharava and G. Kvirvelia (*GPPAE* (1991) 251-5; T.M. Arsenyeva and D.B. Shelov, 'Das Antike Tanais-Forschungen und Geschichte', *Klio* 70 (1988) 372-403; B. Böttger, *Das Altertum* 30 (1984) 37-42). Brief reports on the excavations are in *Arkheologicheskiye Otkrytiya* (AO (1982) 106-7; (1983) 105-6; (1984) 89-90; (1985) 125-6; (1986) 108) and more fully by T. Arsenyeva (*KSIA* 174 (1983) 100-7) and Arsenyeva and S. Naumenko (*KSIA* 191 (1987) 75-82). Shelov argues that at first Tanais was not directly subordinate to the Bosphoran rulers, though colonised from there (*VDI* (1989) 3, 47-54). The recent excavations have been mainly concentrated in the town's rectangular core (225m x 240m) where layers of the 2nd-3rd Cts AD have obscured earlier occupation, except in the SW, where parts of a dismantled defensive wall of the 3rd Ct BC were found; further N a part of the curtain wall and of a tower of the 2nd Ct BC were excavated. In the centre a main street and four narrower transverse streets were seen to be paved with Rhodian amphora-handles, many dating to the 3rd-2nd Cts BC. An HL cellar, containing Rhodian stamped amphorae and a bg 'West-slope' ware vase, was the only actual structure remaining from this period. The main period of occupation was from the early 2nd Ct AD onwards. Reconstruction of the double-towered S gateway was dated to AD 229 by an inscription. Houses which had stone-paved courtyards and several living-and subsidiary rooms are typical of this period.

In addition to agriculture and stock-rearing local industries are noted—bronze and iron working, carving of bone, and glass manufacture, attested by the finds of slag and a crucible. It is possible that mould-formed hemispherical bowls were made

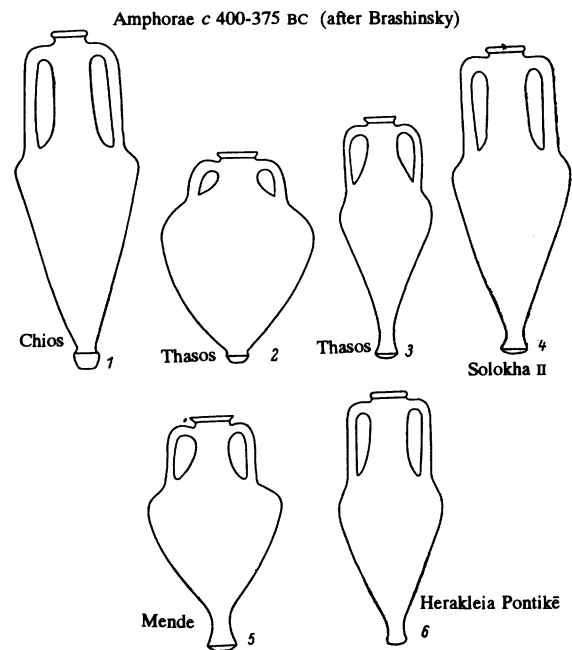


FIG. 26

here in imitation of imported ones. Also imported from the Roman Empire were a number of bronze statuettes and tools (Arsenyeva, *Problemy Antichnoi Kultury*, Moscow 1988, 129-35). An ovoid silver perfume bottle with loops on either side and a silver chain is said to be of possible Bosphoran manufacture; it was found together with gold plaques, silver coins and beads. After destruction in the mid-3rd Ct AD an impoverished re-occupation is noted c. 375-450, when semi-circular structures and some round buildings were built even over the streets. Hand-made pottery shows that people of the 'Chernyakhov' culture had moved into Tanais. A rich Sarmatian burial was found in July 1987 near Rostov-on-Don, containing a diadem and neck-ornaments (Guguiev, *Das Altertum* 36 (1990) 1, 37-42).

Simonenko and Kopylov, Yangulov and Kuznetsov discuss the archaeological remains of the Sarmatian Siraci, Aorsi and Alani and their inter-tribal warfare and westward pressure (*IRBS V*, Rostov 1990, 24-5; *ibid.* 27-9). Their displacement of the Scythians from the wider steppelands of the N Black Sea W of the Don is the subject of a study by V. Maximenko (*IRBS III*, Rostov 1986, 36-43) who suggests that the Sarmatians initially defeated the Scythians in the late 4th-early 3rd Ct BC, but did not displace them S of the Danube and into the Crimea until the 2nd Ct. Beyond the Tanais, behind the E shore of the Lake Maiotis, lived the Maiotai. They received a substantial survey in the proceedings of the IV conference, held at Vani in 1985 (I.S. Kamenetsky, *Tskhaltubo - VANI IV* (1988) 82-92). Galanina also discusses the relations between the Scythians and the Maiotai (*SA* (1985) 3, 156-65) and J. Gardiner-Garden reviews the ideas held by Greek fourth-century writers about the peoples living around the Maiotian Lake (*Historia* 35, 2 (1986) 192-225).

Taman Peninsula

In 1982 an Attic grave-stone of the 4th Ct BC (1.5m high) was found at **Jubileinoe**, north of the Gulf of Taman as a result



FIG. 27

of deep ploughing. The carved relief was of a warrior with a short cloak and a shield (Fig. 27). The stele proved to have been built into a country house of the 1st Ct BC. This was in two storeys of mud-brick on a stone socle, and was disposed in a square about a central paved courtyard (E. Savostina, *SA* (1987) 1, 58-71; *RA* (1987) 3-24). During the 1985 season a second marble stele was found of similar date, which depicted two helmeted men, one of them bearded, both wearing short tunics (Fig. 28). It had been reused as the step leading from the court into one of the rooms. In 1983 three pieces of a large limestone relief were found, being used as paving slabs. Their composition (at least 2.5m high) made up five riders in combat, including Amazons; some were shown as falling from their horses (Fig. 29) (M. Treister, *Archaeological News* 14 (1985) 57-61; Savostina, *Gosudarstvennyy Muzei Istorii Iskusstva Imeni Pushkina-Vystavka Novykh Postuplenii* 1981-6, N. 161-7). A fourth piece of this last relief was found in 1990. Since 1986 a second building of similar type has been found and excavated, some 500m from the first (Jubileinoe II). They seem to be part of a programme of development of stoutly built rural buildings in the Taman area in the late HL period, in which material from earlier structures of the 4th-3rd Ct BC was commonly re-used. One wonders whether the Amazon relief came from the Monument of Satyros, which Strabo says was on the shore of the Bosporos straits, and which would



FIG. 28

have been a number of km W of this site (II.2.7).

Also on the N side of the Gulf of Taman, near Garkush, was **Patrasis/Patraeus** (B. Peters, *AO* (1985) 151; (1986) 140-1). The seven layers on the site begin with the 6th Ct BC. The necropolis near Kuchugury by Lake Maiotis (ancient **Kimmeris**?) has been excavated by Y. Desyatchikov and M. Kalashnikov. The burials were of the 3rd-2nd Ct BC, but the layers in the town were unrelated, mainly of the 4th-5th Cts AD (Y. Desyatchikov and T. Miroshina, *AO* (1986) 123-4). Terracottas are published by Miroshina and A. Sazanov (*KSIA* (1990) 73-8).

Kepoi was a Milesian colony (according to Ps-Scymnus) and a town which grew to cover some 20 hectares on the inner recess of the Gulf of Taman, some 3 km E of Phanagoria (N. Sokolsky, *Archaeology* 18 (1965) 181-6; G. Koshelenko, ed. *AGSP* (1984) 84-6; D. Kacharava and G. Kvirkvelia, *GPPAE*



FIG. 29

(1991) 125-7). Between 1984 and 1990 excavations were conducted by D. Kuznetsov, especially on the W coastal side. Early pottery from this site is of particular interest. A fragment of a late 'Wild Goat' style amphora, rims of lotus bowls and Chiot amphoras of the 6th Ct BC are published by Nikolayeva (*Istoria i Kultura Antichnogo Mira* (Moscow 1977, 150-3). Sorokina publishes a vase with a graffito (*Problemy Antichnoi Kultury*, Moscow 1986, 195-9). A larger range of pottery of similar date—Corinthian skyphoi, Attic 'Siana' cups—is published by V. Kuznetsov (*SA* (1991) 4, 36-52). This material came not from buildings of the period, but from pits cut in the natural underlying sandstone. The excavator believes that the colony was founded c. 575-550 BC, and that a destruction by fire took place in the late 6th Ct BC, after which the area was levelled, and the pits were filled with burnt pottery and timber, scorched mud-bricks and animal bones. Bronze arrow-heads were found, but it is left open whether the destruction was due to enemy attack or to natural causes (*VANI VI* (1993) in press). In the HL period the area was terraced. A mud-brick building on a stone socle, and a stone staircase were destroyed by fire. In the ruins were ten pithoi containing burnt grain and a fragmentary cuirass. The date of this destruction is supplied by three bronze coins of Mithridates VIII (AD 39-45); it may have occurred during the known war between him and his brother, Kotys. The head of a HL marble statuette of Aphrodite (ht 10.2 cm) was also discovered. Foundations of houses and the metalling of a street show that the residential quarter here lasted from the 2nd to the 3rd Ct AD. A tumulus near Kepoi has produced HL *terracottas* (O. Usacheva, *KSIA* 174, 77-82). Barbarian imitations of R *denarii* found at Kepoi are published in *Problemy Antichnoi Kultury*, 199-201.

Phanagoria was the main city on the Asiatic side of Bosphoros; at its greatest extent it covered some 50 hectares. A popular general account appeared recently (M.M. Kobylina, *Phanagoria*, Moscow 1989). Bibliographies and accounts of earlier excavations are to be found in G. Koshelenko, ed. *AGSP*

(1984) 77-81, and in D. Kacharava and G. Kvirkvelia, ed., *GPPAE* (1991) 284-8). The city of Late A and Early Classical times was roughly rectangular, with sides c. 450m x 500m, and an area of half its later size. Excavations were directed in 1985-8 by V.S. Dolgorukov, and from 1989 by A. Zavoikin; they have been carried out in three areas of the NW part of the site. Over 100 burials were also excavated in the SE part, and they were later overlaid by buildings of the expanding town of c. 475-450 BC (*AO* (1984) 95-96; (1985) 136-7; *KSIA* 197 (1991) 30-36). Three adult burials, six of children up to age ten, and three infant burials in Chiot amphoras date to c. 525-500 BC. This is the first time that such early graves have been found at Phanagoria. One burial, N. 470, received repeated funerary feast-offerings. There was also a kind of herōon, constructed of wooden posts coated with clay, and with walls of wattle: its W wall was apsidal in shape. A dozen buildings or so of mud-brick and wattle suggest to the excavator an increase in population, which he thinks may be attributable to an influx of Ionians after the failure of the revolt against the Persians in 499-494 BC. Traces of fire and finds of arms indicate either trouble from the Sindoi, or internal dissension (so Dolgorukov). Phanagoria then flourished from early in the 5th Ct BC until its end. Defensive walls were built and silver coins struck here c. 425-400 BC. Towards the end of that century the city was destroyed perhaps as a result of the Spartokids' conquest of the city. Grain-stores in baskets and depots of amphoras were found below the ruins of houses (J. Gorlov, *Problemy Antichnoi Kultury* ... 135-7). Two major HL buildings were found, one supposed to be a temple. Kerch limestone was used for the architectural elements. Much terracotta architectural decoration and polychrome plaster was found in 1984-7 and 1990. These buildings lasted with several refurbishings until the mid-1st Ct BC, when they were destroyed. Two stone shots from siege-engines were found on the metalling of streets of this date—perhaps a legacy of siege by Pharnakes of Pontus. A multi-room building was then constructed but all buildings in the S part of Phanagoria ceased occupation, perhaps as a result of Polemo's expedition against the Aspurgiani. By the 1st Ct AD the area was given over to agricultural and fishing activities. To the N were some 20 pottery kilns and three wine-producing undertakings. Occupation ceased here with invasion by the Huns. In 1986 a marble inscription was found, dated by Vinogradov to 88/87 BC, in which the Phanagoritans grant citizenship and *enktesis* to some former mercenaries, who had perhaps fought in Mithridates VI Eupator's first war against Rome (*VDI* (1991) 4, 14-83).

The site of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania (**Apatouron**) is located by I.D. Marchenko at **Maiskaya Gora**. The famous burial nearby at Bolshaya Blizhnitza is said to be that of the chief priestess of her cult (Marchenko, *Istoria i Kultura Antichnogo Mira*, Moscow 1977, 12-5). S. Tokhtasyov discusses the cult of Aphrodite Urania, connecting it with the Greek Apatouria rather than with the Scythian Herakles-legend (*VDI* (1983) 2, 111 ff.; (1986) 2, 138-45).

Hermonassa (Tamansk) was a large walled city of some 35 hectares, which had a long history from the 5th Ct BC to the 14th AD. Within this very extensive period, it seems to have flourished especially in the first phase, 6th-5th Cts BC (G. Koshelenko, ed. *AGSP* (1984) 81-2; D. Kacharava and G. Kvirkvelia, *GPPAE* (1991) 73-5; M. Treister, *Archaeological News* 14, 1-4 (1989) 42-6). I.B. Zeyest noted that excavation in various parts of the town made it clear that no single regular street-pattern existed, but that they were aligned according to local contours and land conditions (*Istoria i Kultura Antichn-*

ogo Mira, Moscow 1977, 54-7). The excavations of the 1970s have been published by A.K. Korovina (*Zhiva Antike*, Skopje 16 (1975) 305; *Proceedings of Eirene 16 Congress*, Prague 1983, 115 ff.). A 4th Ct BC temple to Apollo Ietros existed here; statue bases with dedications to this deity and to Aphrodite seem unusually common (I. Pichikyan, *Malaya Asia-Severnoye Prichernomorye*, Moscow 1984, 152). Among the notable finds of the early period were an Ionic capital of the early 5th Ct BC, and a bellows-nozzle or pottery kiln support (Pichikyan, *op. cit.*; M. Treister and F. Shelov-Kovyedyayev, *Hesperia* 58 (1989) 289-96). G. Vartanov publishes a silver didrachm of Kolkhis (*Numismatika Severnogo Prichernomorya*, Kiev 1982, 91 ff.). Korovina calculates that most of the amphoras, imported into Hermonassa in the 4th-3rd Ct BC were Thasian, Herakleiot, Sinopian and Rhodian. The painted pottery found at Hermonassa is published by N.A. Sidorova, (*Soob. Gos. Mus. Iz. Isk.* 8, 1987) and a rf rhyton and a krater, said to be by Alkimakhos and Hermonax, are the subject of an article by Pichikyan in the same journal. Three recently found inscriptions are of the 4th Ct BC: (1) Phainippos, son of Artemon, in the time of the Spartokid ruler, Leukon (N.S. Byelova, *VDI* (1987) 1, 60 ff.); (2) a dedication of the time of King Pairisades II (Byelova, *VDI* (1984) 2, 78 ff.); (3) a marble statue-base on which Pythodoris honours Livia, wife of Augustus as benefactor (A.I. Boltunova, *VDI* (1989) 1, 86-92). In the first Cts AD wine-presses and cisterns (found in 1981 and 1988) take the place of buildings in several areas of the city. In one building a fragment of a limestone stele was found, on which were two registers of relief sculpture—a rider and two running hounds, and below them two seated figures (Korovina, *KSIA* 191 (1987) 60-6). Among the small finds was an oenochoe-measure, bearing the name of Polyxenides, son of Satyrion, and a number of fragments of relief bowls with moulded medallions bearing Isis, Serapis and maenads. As late as the 3rd-4th Cts AD a large public building still existed, adorned with bases of columns or pilasters (Korovina, *Problemy Antichnoy Kultury*, Moscow 1986, 160 ff.). The most recent excavations conducted by S.I. Finogeneva since 1989 have been in the N section. Here were found late layers of the 4th-5th Cts AD, which consisted to a large extent of rubbish pits and a mud-brick hearth. Finds included rg plates, some with stamped crosses, as well as 'blue-eye' glass vessels and 3rd Ct AD Bosporan coins. In the NE and between the 'N' and 'Upper Sections' remains of the high Med (12 Ct onwards) and earlier (8th Ct) were found. The tumuli of the necropolis radiate out for some 5 km, westwards to Cape Tuzla and towards the well-known tomb on Lysaya Gora.

Sindikos Limen/Gorgippia (modern Anapa). Earlier bibliography for the archaeology of Gorgippia is given by D. Kacharava and G. Kvirkvelia (*GPPAE* (1991) 78-81). E.M. Alexeyeva (in G. Koshelenko, ed., *AGSP* (1984) 82-4) summarises the results of excavations. Fuller accounts of the work done in 1960-72 are given by I.T. Kruglikova (*KSIA* 182 (1985) 70-76) and that carried out in 1978-84 is described by Alexeyeva (*KSIA* 188 (1986) 61-69). Kruglikova produced a popular book in 1975 (*Sindskaya Gavan, Gorgippia, Anapa*, Moscow). A series of studies on Gorgippia is to be found in Alexeyeva *et al.*, *Gorgippia I*, 1980; *II*, 1982. These deal also with the settlements in the surrounding *khōra* (*ibid.* I, 18-40).

The area of the anc. city, which is beneath modern Anapa, was c. 40 hectares. Excavation in the 1980s has been concentrated on three areas, the N central area near the shore (*AO* (1982) 104; (1984) 87) a section in the NE also by the shore, and an area in the SW (excavated in 1987-8). Over a stretch of

some 400m along the shore in the N Central area a number of semi-pit shelters were found sunk into the ground by some 1.5m. They dated to the late 6th and 5th Cts BC. They were overlaid by houses of mud-brick on stone socles, which themselves underwent three re-buildings. A necropolis contemporary with the early settlement was found in the NE area between cellars of the 1st and 2nd Cts AD (*KSIA* 197 (1990) 19-29). Among the grave goods were an Ionian ring vase, early 5th Ct Chiot amphoras, an amphora with a reclining 'S' pattern on the neck, and an E Greek krater, a Clazomenian amphora, decorated with a sphinx and a siren, and some Attic 'little-master' cups (Alexeyeva, *VANI VI*, in press). The 4th Ct BC saw regular street-planning (c. 375-350 BC) several blocks between streets being excavated. The city is said to have continued undisturbed until the second quarter of the 3rd Ct AD, when destruction by fire occurred (the latest Bosporan coins being those of Ininthimeus of AD 239). Some of the larger buildings were substantial establishments with multiple cellars which had hatches connecting with the street. Wineries also were a feature in the yards of many houses. A short length of defensive wall (2.4m thick) and the foundation of a tower were found, connecting with the centre of the town by a broad street 8m wide. In the SW a quarter, producing pottery and terracottas throughout many periods, was found, just beyond the remains of the HL defences. Part of these defences was a fortified structure, which appeared to have been destroyed by fire in the mid-1st Ct BC; it contained many amphoras and some imported bronze utensils. Publication of the terracottas is by Alexeyeva (*KSIA* 191 (1987) 19-26) and a pottery complex of the 2nd-1st Cts BC is discussed by Zuikov (*KSIA* (1987) 70-4). A marble relief of the 1st Ct AD is published by Z. Lemyakina (*ibid.*, 67-9) and a Corinthian capital of the same date is discussed by Karpushkina (*KSIA* 197 (1990) 79-83). A gold plaque, bearing a stamped image of Helios is the subject of an article by S. Saprykin (*VDI* (1983) I, 68-94). Analysis of bronzes including engraved rings has been undertaken by M. Treister (*VDI* (1982) 3, 67-78; *KSIA* 174 (1983) 117-24). Coin hoards, found at **Kumatyr** and **Fadeyev**, dated to the period c. 125-100 BC, give some indication of the circulation of bronze coins on the Bosporos at this period (N. Nesterenko, *VDI* (1987) 2, 74-84). Inscriptions from Gorgippia, supplementing those in the Bosporan Corpus are published by A.I. Boltunova (*VDI* (1982) 3, 61-78; (1986) 1, 62-75). Graffiti of the 4th Ct BC with dedications are studied by G.I. Tsvetayeva (*Problemy Antichnoi Kultury*, Moscow 1986, 215-17) and the religious cults observed at Gorgippia are surveyed by Alexeyeva (*SA* (1986) 34-52).

Settlements of the ancient period, known up to the 1980s were plotted on the map by Kruglikova (G. Koshelenko, ed., *AGSP* (1984) 59, map 6). The Taman survey of 1981-3 produced many more (Y.M. Paromov, *KSIA* 188 (1986) 69-76; *Le Pont-Euxin vu par les Grecs ...* 161-4). Some 150 settlements and 205 groups of burials as well as 60 km of ancient roads, were logged (*AO* (1982) 112; (1983) 112; (1984) 106; (1985) 131-2). The northern part, the Fontalovsky Peninsula, is studied by V. Tolstikov (*Archeologia*, Kiev 1989, 1, 52-65). The Ilyich settlement at the N entrance to the Bosporos was a large fort dating from the 1st Ct BC to the 5th-6th Cts AD. It has been suggested that it was the E Byz **Trapezunda**, housing a garrison of Bosporans, Goths, Alans and Huns (Nikolayeva, *KSIA* 168 (1981) 88-93; 174 (1983) 110-17; *Problemy Antichnoi Kultury*, Moscow 1986, 183-8). Finds of pithoi and weapons of the 5th-6th Cts AD have suggested this interpretation.

Attempts have been made to identify the burials of the Dandarioi tribe in the NE Taman (A. Maslennikov, *Istoria i*

Kultura Antichnogo Mira, Moscow 1977, 127-31) and the Aspurgiani, who are taken to have been military colonus-type settlers on royal lands in the 1st Ct AD (S. Saprykin, *SA* (1985) 2, 65-78). Rural settlements around Gorgippia were built of stone in the form of a house-tower or they incorporated towers. One estate 15 km from Gorgippia was excavated; it proved to date to the 4th-3rd Cts BC and had numerous rooms and several courtyards. The *necropoleis* at Anapa have yielded some 400 burials to excavation up to the present (A. Salov, *KSIA* 182(1985) 56-8). The area around Anapa has produced some decorated and plain pottery of the late 6th-early 5th Cts BC, and this has been used to suggest that Gorgippia served as a kind of *emporion* already in its early stages (A. Salov, *Problemy Antichnoi Kul'tury*, Moscow 1986, 188-95).

The Sindoi, whose territory later became absorbed into the lands around Hermonassa, Phanagoria, Kepoi and Gorgippia (that is, it became the main Asiatic centre of the Bosporan state) have come in for some study, mainly in respect of their coinage (Shelov-Kovyedyayev, *Antichnaya Balkanistika*, Moscow 1984, 52-3; *Klio* 71 (1989) 216-25). The coins are said to belong to the people, not to a Greek 'Sindikos Harbour'. Anfimov studies the agricultural base of the region (*Istoria i Kultura Antichnogo Mira*, Moscow 1977, 6-12).

Along the Caucasus coast further work has been carried out at the SE limits of the Bosporan Kingdom. At **Shirokaya Balka** near Novorossiisk some 140 burials of the 1st-3rd Cts AD were excavated in the three years up to 1982 (N.A. Onaiko, *AO* (1982) 131-2). The excavations at **Torikos** were published in an article which was omitted from the previous report (*Arkheologia* 20, Kiev 1976, 80-88). The work of the late 1970s is presented by Onaiko and A. Dmitriev (*KSIA* 168 (1981) 93-100; *VDI* (1982) 2, 106-17).

GEORGIA AND ABKHAZIA: EAST BLACK SEA LITTORAL

A recent account of archaeological finds in the area of ancient **Kolkhis**, as well as in the more easterly **Iberia** is to be found in this journal (by D.D. Kacharava, as stated at the beginning). A somewhat earlier report by Kacharava and T. Tolordava appeared in 1987 (*DHA* 13, 275-312). Only a few recent books and collections of studies will be mentioned here, along with some points of debate, since the last two years have seen little excavation in Georgia. The survey in Russian edited by G. Koshelenko (*Drevneishiy Gosudarstva Kavkaza i Srednei Asii*, Moscow 1985) has a chapter on Kolkhis, and the gazetteer edited by D. Kacharava and G. Kvirkvelia (*GPPAE*) has entries with full bibliography for Dioskourias, Gyenos and Phasis (86-9; 76-8; 289-93). A large-scale and up-to-date treatment of Georgia from the earliest times to the Mediaeval period is now available in German (O.D. Lordkipanidze, *Archäologie in Georgien - Von der Altsteinzeit zum Mittelalter*, Heidelberg 1991, 93-145). There is a brief monograph on Kolkhis and its relations with the Greeks by the same author (*Das alte Kolkhis und seine Beziehungen zur griechischen Welt vom 6 bis zum 4 Jhdt. v. christ. Xenia* 14, Konstanz 1985, pp 50). There is also a brief sketch on Kolkhis by Lordkipanidze in M. Koromila ed., *The Greeks in the Black Sea*, Athens 1991, 190-201). A major work on ancient Georgia, including Kolkhis and Iberia, through to LR and Byz times is promised by D. Braund (OUP, in press for 1994). At the London conference held in 1990 (*Colchis and the Greek World*) a series of papers was given by Georgian archaeologists, including one contrasting the mode and process of Greek colonisation in Kolkhis with the more

normal one on the Kimmerian Bosphoros (by G. Koshelenko and V. Kuznetsov) and one compiling the evidence for importation of Greek objects into Kolkhis in the A and Classical periods (by D. Kacharava). Other papers given at this venue were on trading patterns between the Black Sea area and Kolkhis (G. Tsetskhladze) and on the not inconsiderable role played by Sinope in trade with Kolkhis (G. Kvirkvelia). The symposium *VANI V* (1987) had a large section devoted to excavations at the site of Vani (section IV). *VANI VI* (1990, in press) contains papers on the silver coins of the Phasians or Kolkhians (Hind) on the role of the important Kolkhian site under the modern regional capital of Kutaisi (Barzanishvili and Kvirkvelia) on the burial-grounds recently found in the coastal area (T. Mikeladze) on the BA and IA settlement at Pichora (Baramidze) and a rich burial found far up the River Rioni at Saikhe (J. Nadiradze). Pichvnary and Gonio (Apsaros) were the venues of on-site lectures and expositions of material. Apsaros is in the near future to see British participation in the work inside the impressive R walled area (D. Braund). A specialist monograph on iron-working among the Kolkhoi is by D.A. Khakhutaishvili (*Proizvodstvo Zheleza v Drevnei Kolkhidze*, Tbilisi 1987). Lordkipanidze has produced a small volume on Vani, interpreting it as a 'temple-city', flourishing particularly in HL times (O.D. Lordkipanidze, *Gorod-Khram Kolkhidze*, Moscow 1984; see also on HL Kolkhis, *DHA* 9 (1983) 197-216). Saikhe, the probable centre of a second *skeptouchy* in E Kolkhis, is the subject of an illustrated monograph in the Georgian language (D. Nadiradze, *Saikhe - Drevneishiy Gorod Gruzii*, Tbilisi 1990).

The main topics of discussion continue to be: the existence or otherwise of normal Greek cities on the coast of Kolkhis in the A and C periods, the question of which authority issued the 'Kolkhidki' coins, whether there was a single Kolkhian state or a politically divided single people and culture, and the nature of the rule of the Mithridatids in Kolkhis, and of Roman Imperial rule in the later period, and the *limes* in this area. The silver coins of the 5th-4th Cts BC are assigned to the still-unlocated city of Phasis (G.F. Dundua, *Numismatika Antichnoi Gruzii*, Tbilisi 1987, 9-13; Braund, *VANI VI*, in press). Against this Hind suggests that they are the coins of the Phasianoi, the central coastal branch of the Kolkhians, mentioned by Xenophon and Ps-Hippokrates as dwelling on the Phasis and having a ruler, a city and a port-of-trade (*VANI VI*, Tbilisi and Besançon, in press). Some new interpretations of the Kolkhian coin-types are also suggested. Tsetskhladze discusses the importance of the numismatics of Kolkhis from the point of view of the Classical Archaeologist (*DHA* (1993) in press). The ancient city beneath Kutaisi may have been the missing 'large barbarian city' mentioned as being some way up the river Phasis, and the capital of the Phasian Kolkhians (O.D. Lordkipanidze, *Tskhaltubo - VANI IV*). The dearth of inscriptions, which might indicate civic structures, from the E coast sites has always been striking. Bronze tablets from Eshera and from Vani present HL sacred texts which in some ways fill the lack of written material, though providing evidence for temple rituals, rather than civil administration, in the 3rd Ct BC (T. Quaukhchishvili, *Istochnikovedcheskiye Razyskaniya* (1982) Tbilisi 1985, 218-23; *Tskhaltubo - VANI IV* (1985) (1988) 248-63; M.P. Inadze, *Kavkazsko-Blizhnyye-vostochny Sbornik* 8 (1988) 148-58). The cult of Mithras is studied by Tsetskhladze (*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 209 (1992) 115-24) and M.N. Matiashvili discusses religious beliefs in Kolkhis under the influence of Hellenism. The evidence for Greek influence on Kolkhian architecture, bronze-working, tile-making, amph-

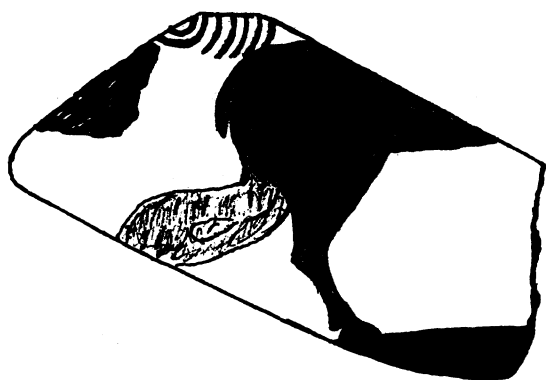


FIG. 30

ora-production etc., is collected by Tsetskhladze (*Mesopotamia* 26 (1991) 119-39). Kolkhian amphora production (of brown-clay, produced from the 4th Ct BC down to mediaeval times) are studied by S. Vnukov, and Tsetskhladze (*Grecheskiye Amphory - Problemy Razvitiia Remesla i Torgovli v Antichnom Mirye*, Saratov 1992, 68-89, 90-110) and the stamps found on them (both in Greek and ones with indeterminate signs) are published by Tsetskhladze (*Klio* 73 (1991) 361-81). Another Kolkhian export, slaves, is discussed by Tsetskhladze and Braund (*CQ* 39.1 (1989) 114-25; *Klio* 72 (1990) 151-9). The Mithridatic period is discussed by T. Todua, both in respect of forts of the period, and the position of Kolkhis within Mithridates Eupator's Black Sea Empire (*VDI* (1988) 1, 139-46; *Kolkhida v Sostavie Pontiiskogo Tsarstva*, Tbilisi 1990). Coins of Dioskourias found in Chersonesos and the general pattern of Kolkhian trade items found around the Black Sea are traced by Tsetskhladze (*VDI* (1989) 4, 91-9; *Arkheologia* 9, Kiev 1990, 2, 86-97). The evidence for R garrisons of the 2nd Ct AD at Apsaros, Petra and Phasis is reviewed by M. Speidel (*Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III, 13th Int. Limeskongress*, Aalen 1983, Stuttgart 1986, 657-60). Inscriptions from Pitsunda (Pityous) are discussed in *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 44 (1988) 56-8, and a stamp of *leg. XV* is published in *VDI* (1987) 7, 88-92; G.A. Lordkipanidze, *Pityount und Pontos Limes*, preprint Tbilisi 1991). Part of a catapult from here is discussed by D. Baatz (*Saalburg Jahrbuch* 44 (1988) 59-64).

Individual sites of localities in the coastal region, which have attracted especial attention are Phasis (D.D. Kacharava, *The Town of Phasis as Described in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Literary Sources*, Tbilisi, preprint, 1990). G. Gamkrelidze summarises underwater research (*Underwater Archaeology in the Colchian Littoral*, Tbilisi, 1990) including the search for Phasis town of the 5th-6th Cts AD. See also *K Arkheologii Doliny Phasisa*, Tbilisi, 1992. The search for Phasis in the Rioni delta area around Lake Palaiostomi is likely to be joined in the future by G. Tsetskhladze. Illustrations of the early material from Batumi (Bathys Limen) are now available in A.Y. Kakhidze and D.A. Khakhutaishvili (*Pamyatniki Yugo-Zapadnoi Gruzii* 18 (1989) pl. 34-42). The *Pichvnari* necropolis is published by A. Kakhidze (*SA* (1979) 1, 171-80; *Vostochnoye Prichernomorye v antichnuyu epokhu*, Batumi 1981). The Byz fort at *Tsikhizdiri*, which may be *Petra*, is discussed conveniently in a preprint (N. Inaishvili, *Tsikhizdiri-Petra?*, Tbilisi 1991). The excavations in the town of Kutaisi are reported by O. Lanchava (*Polyevye Arkheologicheskiye Issledovania v 1986'*, Tbilisi 1991, 110-11). Further north

Dioskourias (Sukumi) has undergone excavations in the R fort (M. Gunba and L. Khouskhova, *Arkheologicheskiye Otkrytiia v Abkhazii*, ed. G. Shamba, Tbilisi 1990, 39-53). An early burial nearby of the 6th Ct BC is published by Shamba (*KSIA* 174 (1983) 33-7). The importance of the most northerly of these towns in the E Byz period is underlined by L.G. Krushkhova (*Actes du XI Congres international d'Archéologie chrétienne* 1986, Rome 1989, 2657-86; G. Lordkipanidze and D. Braund (*Roman Frontier Studies* 1989, XV Int. Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Exeter 1991, 335-6). One should also mention the New Argo, of Tim Severin, which resides in a specially constructed ship-shed in the Phasis delta (R. Rioni); the account of the modern voyage to Kolkhis and of its reception by the descendants of Aeetes is told by Severin (*The Jason Voyage* (1985) 193-229 with plan and elevation of the ship on 230-1).

TURKEY

The N coast of Asia Minor held several major cities—Trapezous, Amisos, Sinope, Amastris and Herakleia—and numerous smaller towns and harbours. Few have seen recent archaeological investigation, though Sinopian coins and amphoras and Herakleiot amphoras found in the W and N Black Sea regions have been studied extensively. Certain aspects of the economic and social histories of these cities have also been discussed.

Recent work on **Trapezous (Trabzon)** has been concerned mainly with the Byz period, when as Trebizond it was the capital of the last remaining Greek dynasty (A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontus*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 20, Washington DC 1985; M. Koromila, *The Greeks in the Black Sea*, Athens 1991, 159-85).

The coins of **Amisos** in the British Museum are now published with excellent illustrations (Price, *SNG IX* (1993) pl. xl-xlv). A discussion of the role of Amisos in trade within the Black Sea area will appear in the VII conference at Rostov-on-Don (Hind, *IRBS VII*, 1994). A fragment of pottery in what appears to be a provincial E Greek Wild Goat style is in the Louvre (CA 2244) (**Fig. 30**). Possibly it is a Phocaean variant, which would tally with the city's reported Phocaean origin.

Sinope (Sinop). No excavations have taken place at Sinope. Discussion of the first foundation of the city, the development of her commercial activity, individual finds of inscriptions, bronze vessels, and Sinopian amphoras and coins, have, however, produced a considerable literature. For earlier studies down to 1988 see D. Kacharava and G. Kvirkvelia (*GPPAE* (1991) 239-42). The earliest Greek settlement at Sinope is dated, on the evidence of Ps-Skymnos, to the period just before the Kimmerian invasion (c. 725-700 BC) and such a brief occupation could hardly be expected to yield archaeological material (Hind; *Tskhaltubo - VANI IV*, 207-23). The metal resources in the hinterland of this coast of the Black Sea are surveyed by D. Slattery, *Al Rafidan - The Institute for Cultural Studies of Ancient Iraq*, Kokushikan University, Tokyo, 8 (1987) 1-7). N. Fedoseyev studies the stages of expansion in Sinope's trade (*IRBS* (1990) 15) and I. Okhinko traces the political contacts developed across the Black Sea between Sinope and Bosphoros in the 4th-3rd Ct BC (*PAC Simf* (1988) 211). Sinopean influence is to be seen particularly in the Pichvnary necropolis, but also at other Kolkhian sites such as Vani, having a noticeable effect on local production of amphoras and tiles (D. Khakhutaishvili and A. Kakhidze,

Tskhaltubo III, 517-19; G.T. Kvirkvelia, in *Colchis and the Greek World*, London, Conference papers, 1990; G. Tsetskhladze, *ibid.*). Traders from Sinope and Herakleia and their role in the *emporion* at Phasis are the subject of a paper by J. Hind, shortly to appear in G. Tsetskhladze, ed., *Economy and Society of Kolchis, Xenia*, Konstanz 1993. Sinopean amphoras for the export of olive oil perhaps as much as of wine are found widely W of the Black Sea in Bulgaria (K. Banyev, *TP II*, 29-33; Bozhkova, *Arkheologia*, Sofia 1990, 2, 37-41) and in Rumania (R. Lazov, *TP III*, 259-60; N. Conovici, *Dacia* 33 (1989) 111-23; *SCIVA* 40, 1, (1989) 29-44). A few have been found in the Aegean or E Mediterranean area, at Athens, Rhodes and Samaria (N. Efremov, *Klio* 71 (1989) 2, 550-4). The Sinopean *astynome* stamps found in the environs of the city are now published (D. French, *TP II*, 85-6; *AS* 40 (1990) 99; *BCH Suppl. XIII*, (1986) 391-3). Two bronze vessels have been found at Sinope, one, a hydria, is published by N. Uygur (*Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1989 yilligi*, 209-11). The coinage of Sinope in the British Museum collection is now published (M. Price, *SNG IX*, BM 1993, pl. L-LVII). An early eagle-head silver coin of Sinope was found at Pichvnari on the Georgian coast (I. Iashvili, *Pamyatniki Yugo-Zapadnoi Gruzii* 16 (1987) 45-6). An imitation of a later type of S drach is discussed by J. Nordbo (*Papers of the International Numismatic Symposium*, edd. E. Gadei and K. Bino-Sey, Budapest 1980). A full numismatic catalogue of the Greek, Roman, Greek-Imperial and Byzantine coins held in the Sinop Museum has been completed by P.J. Casey. He writes that this will appear in the form of a catalogue and associated studies, making up a monograph publication of the British School of Archaeology at Ankara. Grave-stones from Sinope, are published by C. Jones (*JHS* 108 (1988) 193-4) and D. French (*Epigraphica Anatolica* 16 (1990) 45-64). The area inland of Sinope was peopled by the Paphlagonians, now studied by S. Saprykin (*TP IV*, 240-54) and the area of coastal Cappadocia is given a brief discussion by French (*TP IV*, 237-40). The inclusion of real places in the itinerary of the legendary voyage of Argo is discussed by Z. Gocheva (*TP IV*, 255-60) and the theme of foundation of cities in Apollonios Rhodios' epic is studied by Ehrhardt (*VANI VI*, in press).

Further W is the city of **Amastris (Amasra)** synoecised late into a city c.300 BC from the minor towns of Kromna, Sesamos and Tieion. The coins in the British Museum collection are now published (M. Price, *SNG IX* (1993) pl. xlviii-lix). A. Scheglov discusses the relatively rare stamped amphoras from Amastris found N of the Black Sea (**Fig. 31**) which may have been used as containers for hazel-nuts and walnuts as well as for oil or wine (*BCH Suppl. XIII* (1986) 365-73). The recent survey of Amasra has embraced the island Boz Tepe, and the Byzantine-Genoese castle-buildings. In the town there were 14 mediaeval churches including a cathedral mentioned in 1922. Part of a LR bath-building is reported (S. Hill, *AS* 40 (1990) 18-19). Outside Amasra is an impressive monument of C. Julius Aquila, *praeef. classis* or *praeef. orae maritimae*.

Herakleia Pontike (Eregli). The coins of Herakleia in the British Museum are published by M. Price (*SNG IX* (1993) lvii-lix). The bibliography concerning Herakleia is now collected by D. Kacharava and G. Kvirkvelia (*GPPAE* (1991) 66-9). A monograph studying the relations between Herakleia and her colony Chersonesos was published in Moscow in 1986 (S.Y. Saprykin, *Gerakleia Pontiiskaya i Khersones Tavrichesky*). Two articles deal with the chronology of the amphoras and amphora-stamps of Herakleia (J.B. Brashinsky, *Num. i Ep.*

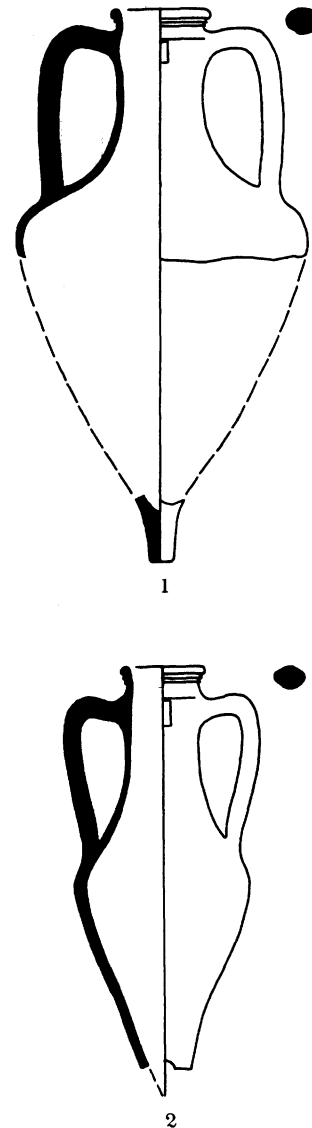


FIG. 31

14 (1984) 3-22; P. Balabanov, *TP II*, 12-28). A. Avram studies the position of the Mariandynoi, the dependent population of the *khōra* (*St. Class.* 22 (1984) 19-28).

The harbour and peninsula at **Kalpē**, mentioned by Xenophon as suitable for colonisation, was in fact never settled as a *polis*, perhaps because the men of Herakleia would have opposed it. The site is discussed by J. Stronk (*TP IV*, 99-100). The activities of traders in putting in here, and in the Black Sea generally at *emporion*, are discussed in a forthcoming number of *Das Schwarze Meer*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, Vol. II (Hind).

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ABBREVIATIONS NOT STANDARD IN THIS JOURNAL:

| | | | |
|------------|---|-----------------|---|
| ADSP | <i>Antichnye Drevnosti Severnogo Prichernomorya</i> , Kiev 1988 | PDIS-ZP | <i>Pamyatniki Drevnei Istorii Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomorya</i> , Kiev 1985 |
| AGSP | G.A. Koshelenko, ed. <i>Antichnye Goroda Severnogo Prichernomorya</i> , Moscow 1984 | P.D.Isk S.-Z.P. | <i>Pamyatniki Drevnyego Iskusstva Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomorya</i> , Kiev 1986 |
| AKSP | <i>Antichnaya Kultura Severnogo Prichernomorya</i> , Kiev 1984 | Peuce | Peuce (Tulcea) |
| AMIA | <i>Antichny Mir i Arkheologia</i> , Saratov | Pontica | Pontica (Constanța) |
| AO | <i>Arkheologicheskiye Otkrytia - 1986</i> , Moscow 1988 | PY-ZG | <i>Pamyatniki Yugo-Zapadnoi Gruzii</i> |
| Dacia | <i>Dacia, Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne</i> , Bucharest | Ross. A./SA | <i>Rossiiskaya Arkheologia/Sovietskaya Arkheologia</i> |
| GPPAE | <i>Goroda i Poselenia Prichernomorya Antichnoi Epokhi</i> , edd., D.D. Kacharava and G. Kvirkvelia, Tbilisi 1991 | SCIVA | <i>Studii si Cercetari Istorie Veche i Arheologie</i> (Bucharest) |
| IRBS | <i>International Relations within the Black Sea Basin</i> (= <i>Myezhdunarodnye Otnoshenia v Basyene Chernogo Morya v Drevnosti i v Sredniye Vyeka</i> , Rostov-on-Don, III-V, 1986-90) | SNG | <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> |
| Istros | <i>Istros I</i> , Braila, 1980- | St. Class. | <i>Studii Classice</i> , Bucharest |
| KIS | <i>Kimmeriitsy i Skiphy</i> , Kirovograd 1987 | Soob.Gos.Herm. | <i>Soobschenia Gosudarstvennogo Hermitagea</i> , Leningrad/St. Petersburg |
| KSIA | <i>Kratkiye Soobschenia Instituta Arkheologii</i> , Moscow | Soob.Gos.M.I.I. | <i>Soobschenia Gosudarstvennogo Museya Izobrazitelnykh Iskusstv imeni Pushkina</i> , Moscow |
| MASP | <i>Materialy po Arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomorya</i> , Odessa | TGA | <i>Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Hermitagea</i> , Leningrad |
| NMASZP | <i>Novye Materialy po Arkheologii Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomorya</i> , Kiev | TP | <i>Thracia Pontica III</i> , 1985; Sofia 1986; IV 1988, Sofia, V, 1991, in press |
| Num. i Ep. | <i>Numismatika i Epigraphika</i> , Moscow | Tskhaltubo/VANI | <i>Tskhaltubo III</i> 1982, Tbilisi 1985; <i>Tskhaltubo/VANI IV</i> 1985, Tbilisi 1988; <i>VANI V</i> 1987, Tbilisi and Besançon 1990; <i>VANI VI</i> 1990, in press Tbilisi and Besançon |
| PAC Simf. | <i>Problems of Ancient Culture</i> (= <i>Problemy Antichoi Kultury, Tyezisy Dokladov Krymskoi Nauchnoi Konferentsii</i> , Simferopol 1988, 195-313) | VDI | <i>Vestnik Drevnei Istorii</i> |